

# THE STANDARD

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## THE STANDARD.

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## EDITORIAL.

The resolutions adopted by the Central labor union last Sunday do not, as is declared by the daily papers, commit that organization to the inauguration of a political movement unless after full examination a committee appointed by the union shall report to it a practicable method for accomplishing the result aimed at. If the Central labor union shall resolve on simply "a labor movement" that aims at providing public positions for labor politicians it will be likely to fail. If, on the other hand, it proposes to demonstrate that the workingmen of the city of New York are sincere advocates of honest government and that they are determined to take such a part in public affairs as will compel a recognition of their reasonable demands by legislators, it seems to us more than probable that they could make a combination with other elements favoring municipal reform, that might sweep this city next November. They certainly can do one thing, and that is demonstrate that they are the true friends of good government and put the men who have hitherto posed as society savers, clamoring for honest government between elections and supporting the machines on election day, in a very peculiar position. A perfectly straightforward movement under the auspices of the Central labor union, aiming directly at the taking of our municipal government out of the arena of national politics, might receive so overwhelming a support that all concerned would be amazed at the result.

If the movement is to have any chance for success it must be kept absolutely clear from entanglement with the old political parties, and in order to do this, it will have to recognize fully the fact that such parties exist and are irreconcilably divided on national issues. There are in this city tens of thousands of democrats and republicans who would gladly aid a *bona fide* effort to take municipal affairs out of politics, but who will not give their support to any independent movement that is designed to aid their political opponents in electing congressmen or a United States senator. If a candidate for the legislature were nominated, let us say, in the Seventh assembly district, which is now represented by a republican at Albany, many republicans who would ordinarily be disposed to assist in a movement to take municipal affairs out of party politics would hesitate to vote for a man who might, if sent to Albany, assist in sending a tariff reformer or a free trader to represent this state in the United States senate. The same would be true as to democrats in democratic assembly districts if asked to support an independent who would vote to send a protectionist to the United States senate. The movement suggested by the Central labor union would probably fail to command the assent of workingmen, however, if candidates for the legislature were not nominated, and hence there is a difficult and delicate task before its managers at the very start, if they are not to alienate from themselves people who would naturally support an independent movement which aimed to really take city affairs out of politics. Of course there will be found men who will declare that an independent movement must ignore party policies altogether, but any neglect of

the facts mentioned will be sure to lose the movement votes that it would otherwise have every chance of getting. So far as congressmen are concerned there is no real difficulty. The new movement can afford to ignore them, since it is certain that those composing it would not be united on the tariff question and would have no occasion to make nominations for members of congress. In the case of members of the legislature the task is more difficult, but it is essential that the movement shall be so arranged that it cannot be used to send into the legislature from any democratic district a man who would vote for a republican candidate for the United States senate nor from any republican district a man who would vote for a democratic candidate for that place.

So far as municipal affairs are concerned, the way is clearly open for an independent movement, if there be behind it the strength and enthusiasm necessary to make such a movement a success. The people of the city of New York now have it within their power to take municipal affairs completely out of party politics. The responsibility is now upon them, and not upon the machines. As the Central labor union resolutions justly declare, "under the new election laws the people are no longer compelled to choose between the candidates of the two political machines under penalty of throwing away their votes." If they continue to subject themselves to that choice it will be due to the fact that there is no real public sentiment against the continuance of government by "halls," "bosses" and "rings." It is to the credit of the workingmen represented in the Central labor union that they have been the first to see this, and to take steps toward the necessary action. Will other men who are in favor of reform and the divorce of city affairs from party politics show equal enterprise and courage? This is a question for others to answer.

The New York Sun, which, despite its pretended acquiescence in the new system of voting, is really hostile, declares in its issue of Monday that there is "fun ahead" in politics, and that the socialistic labor party, the Central labor union, the revived united labor party and the prohibitionists are already preparing to nominate candidates, and that it is probable that the know nothings, the native Americans, woman suffragists, anti-monopolists, bread winners, anti-Chinese bolters, "not to speak of the civil service mugwumps, the Reform club reformers, the free trade Parsees, the fighting forces of the Commonwealth club, the Personal Liberty league, the Manhattan single tax club and other kindred organizations" will all form parties and nominate candidates, so that there will be some twenty-five political organizations in the field this year. With the Sun "the wish is father to the thought." If each of the various organizations or factions that it names were to run candidates the machines would practically have it their own way, and the opponents of ballot reform would find in the confusion preceding the election, and in the result, an argument against that reform. The men who really mean to accomplish something in politics should avoid adopting any such course, and several of the organizations named can certainly be depended upon not to commit such folly. Any attempt to revive

the united labor party will of course be dictated by a desire to renew the huckstering by which certain members of that party profited in the last presidential campaign. Nobody believes that there will be any attempt to revive the know-nothing or native American parties, or that the woman suffragists will name candidates. The civil service mugwumps, as the Sun calls them, have too much sense to undertake alone to form a party, and so have the members of the Reform club, the free traders, the Commonwealth club and the Manhattan single tax club; yet it is doubtless a fact that all of these organizations last named would be strongly inclined to favor any sincere effort to give this city decent government and divorce its affairs from party politics. The Sun may find that it has suggested a winning combination, if the Central labor union shall resolve on a programme that would give it the support of such allies.

So far as the socialistic labor party is concerned, it can be depended upon to oppose any rational scheme of political action, and to do so in utter disregard of good faith and common sense. The socialistic members of the Central labor union violently opposed the passage of the very moderate resolutions offered by Mr. Archibald, and suddenly discovered that the Central labor union is not a body that ought to engage in politics, which is just the reverse of the doctrine that the socialists have been preaching for a number of years. All of the socialists refused to serve on the committee appointed to consider the project, yet it is announced in Monday's papers that "the socialistic labor party" will hold a meeting on Thursday evening and issue a call for all trades and labor unions to send delegates to a convention to arrange for independent political action. This simply means that the socialists will play their usual part as disorganizers and marplots and do their little best to interfere with the success of any political movement that may be started that is likely to advance the true interests of workingmen. It is well that this disposition on their part has been revealed so early, since it will enable the Central labor union to go ahead, if it shall deem it wise to do so, and to avoid taking into its counsels any of the men who seem to join organizations with the specific purpose of first betraying them and then breaking them up. The socialists of this city have no real interest in political action except so far as that action may tend to advertise their own movement. Those composing the so-called "socialistic labor party" are utterly incapable of joining sincerely in any movement that aims at improving the condition of workmen or giving us better and more honest government, unless it goes the whole length of establishing the socialistic regime. Many of them are doubtless fanatically honest in their position, and it therefore is impossible that they should work sincerely in favor of any movement that does not aim to establish their plan of government. That the workingmen of New York cannot be united in behalf of any such movement is perfectly clear to all people who are not blinded by their own desires, and therefore the more quickly they cut loose from the socialists the more likely they are to be united, and the more certain are they to receive the support of thousands

of people who are strongly inclined to join with them in any practicable demand for legislation that will at least ameliorate the conditions under which labor now suffers, and take public affairs out of the hands of the corrupt governing class that has so long ruled this city.

The Evening Post notes that the Central labor union "is quick to comprehend the advantages which third party and independent movements have gained by the new election law," and it also mentions the activity of Tammany hall in holding district meetings to instruct its voters as to the workings of the law. The Post thus continues:

*What are the respectable citizens doing? Are they showing as much eagerness as either the machines or the labor agitators are? Are they appointing committees to consider and report upon the best way by which to improve the opportunity presented by the new law in order to give the city a genuine popular uprising, not merely against the machines, but in the interest of intelligent government? There is no time to be lost if a movement of this kind is going to be started this year with hope of success at the polls.*

This is characteristic, especially the implied intimation that the labor men are not *respectable*. The italics are our own. The Times also has an article urging a popular uprising, in the course of which it remarks that "there are indications already that the Central labor union proposes to take advantage of the law to get a measure of the support which a workingman's ticket would command."

These two journals, though they are bitterly hostile one to the other, represent a class of people who imagine that they monopolize all of the respectability of the community, and that no political movement can deserve success that has not previously received their distinguished approval. Neither of the papers conceals its hostility toward any movement originating with workingmen; and, on the other hand, we presume that neither of them would be foolish enough to suppose that any political combination could win in New York which does not have the votes of workingmen. It must therefore be clear to any one that the manifestation of hostility by these papers to the Central labor union, simply because it is a workingmen's organization, is a pretty effectual bar to any successful independent movement with which they are connected. The question then is whether or not there is among business men and others, not usually classed as workingmen, sufficient patriotism and common sense to enable them to put aside prejudice and seek an alliance with the Central labor union that shall make of the proposed movement of the latter one embracing all classes and reasonably sure of success. Of course no one can yet say whether the Central labor union is wise enough to consent to such an alliance, but it is perfectly clear that if a sincere and hopeful effort to reform our city government is to be made, such a combination must be brought about, and it is likewise clear that such papers as the Evening Post, the Volks-Zeitung and the New York Times will throw every obstacle in the way of its success.

The rapid passage of the McKinley bill through the house of representatives has seemed to promise that it would be "railroaded" through the senate with equal rapidity, but thanks to Mr. Plumb of Kansas a halt has been called. Mr. Plumb received sufficient republican assistance to enable him to force through the senate a resolution requiring the finance committee of that body to make a comparative table showing exactly what changes in duties will be made by any bill it may report, and giving in each instance the reason for the change. There was much protest from Sherman and others, but

Mr. Plumb stood firmly by his resolution, and it was passed without opposition. This puts an end to all attempts to rush the bill through the senate as it was rushed through the house. The committee is bound to give a reason for every one of the thousand or so of changes it will probably propose, and each of those reasons will be subject to debate, unless the disreputable Chandler of New Hampshire can get through his "gag law" resolution restricting debate in the senate. Those of our readers who are curious about reasons ought to lay aside this number of THE STANDARD, containing the table showing the increased cost of linens proposed by McKinley, and see what reasons the finance committee of the senate will offer for such increases in case it reports in favor of them.

A dispatch to the New York World from Chattanooga, Tenn., says that since the Dorch law, establishing substantially the Australian system of voting in Tennessee, but making no provision for illiterate voters, has been so amended as to prevent a repetition of the "Tasmanian dodge," the republican party has opened night schools throughout the state to teach the negroes to read. There are thirteen such schools in operation in Chatanooga alone, and over 100 in the state. Nothing but reading is taught, and there will soon be 500 of these schools in operation. The object is simply to teach the negroes to read a ballot, in order that they may vote the republican ticket. This educational work is, of itself, a good thing, and so long as the negroes can only read, and cannot give intelligent thought to what they read, they will be likely to vote the republican ticket. The probability is, however, that the more intelligent among them will acquire a habit of reading and thinking for themselves, and this will, in the end, be fatal to their continuance in the republican party. They are poor men and consumers; and the protectionist party is the enemy of all consumers as such.

#### COST OF THE NEW ELECTION LAW.

The papers are now setting forth at great length the practical difficulties that will arise in enforcing the new ballot law, and they estimate that the cost of the next city election may reach half a million dollars, which is about twice as much as it would cost under the old system. This estimate, however, includes the cost of building of a large number of portable houses to take the place of the shoe shops and barber shops hitherto used as polling places, for which the city paid rent. So far as this item is concerned it is a permanent investment, and the city will, after the first year, save the considerable sum of money it has hitherto paid for the rent of unsuitable polling places. There also enters into these calculations the expense of printing tickets. This is no new expense. It has cost more in the past than it will now cost to print tickets, but the money has heretofore been raised by assessments on candidates, and has eventually come out of the people in the shape of larger salaries necessarily paid such candidates on account of the great expense of running for office under the old system.

Despite their professions, the machine politicians undoubtedly dislike the new law. It will put an end to their practical monopoly of nominations. It will make more difficult than ever before deals and combinations, and will utterly destroy the practice of fraudulently bunching ballots with a view to the deception of voters. After the first expense for polling booths and ballot boxes has been met, elections will cost but little more than they have heretofore cost, and the printing of tickets will cost less than it has cost in the past. In return for what-

ever increase of expenditure is finally necessary, we shall have fair elections, free from intimidation and bribery, and these are worth all that they cost. In fact, until we can have such, all money expended for holding any kind of elections is little better than wasted.

#### THE TIN PLATE REBATE.

The absolute disregard of the rights of the American people by the authors of the McKinley bill is nowhere more thoroughly shown than in the increased duty on tin plate. The pretense that the injustice thus perpetrated on our manufacturers could be remedied by allowing the rebate on all tin packages exported will not bear examination. Looked at from that standpoint the cost and trouble of obtaining a rebate is so great that it is not worth while to attempt it for small shipments, and the result is that the chief beneficiary of the existing rebate is the Standard oil trust.

The fact was brought out in debate by Mr. Outhwaite, who quoted a memorial of the manufacturers of sheet iron, showing that the rebate on tin plate last year amounted to \$1,311,111, of which sum more than \$800,000 was paid to the Standard oil trust. Under the higher duty the amount paid to the Standard oil trust would be much larger, and it is possible that a few other manufacturers might participate in the benefit, and thereby be enabled to send some goods to foreigners.

But let our people look at its effect on themselves. The concession of this drawback is a distinct admission that the new duty will increase the price of tin plate, and thereby increase the price of all goods sold in tin packages. In order to prevent this from shutting our manufacturers out of a foreign market a drawback is allowed that will enable them to sell to foreigners at the same prices that they could sell at if no duty was imposed on tin plate, but there is no attempt at a drawback for the benefit of the American consumer, and every man in the United States who uses tin for roofing, for the milk business, who buys canned goods, or uses tin directly or indirectly, in any fashion, is to have the price he pays largely increased for the benefit of an industry that has not yet even been started in this country. The proof of the utter disregard of the rights of American consumers involved in this business is the most flagrant found in the whole bill.

#### THE WEEKLY PAYMENT BILL.

The weekly payment bill has become a law, through the signature of the governor, and henceforth employers throughout this state must pay wages weekly to those in their employ. Of course there are numerous complaints as to the enormous amount of trouble involved in weekly payments. These complaints are made in all sincerity by those on whom additional labor is thus thrown, but after all, the root of serious opposition to the law lies in the fact that it puts a stop to the practice of obtaining capital by forced loans on labor. As it is, the capitalists obtain the products of labor from their employees in advance, and they enjoy the loan of the first day's product for a whole week without the payment of interest on it. They can, however, no longer compel men to lend the products of their labor for thirty days or more, as has been the case hitherto.

There has been considerable outcry against the propriety of such a law, some insisting that it is an invasion of personal rights. We are ourselves disposed to doubt if such interference between individuals will be regarded as wise after conditions of justice are established, but so long as the state undertakes to collect private debts and enforce individual contracts, we see no reason why it should not

compel the payment of wages at the end of the week for the same reasons that cause it to compel the payment of a note, if the person signing it has any property that may be levied on for the purpose.

The talk about the trouble involved is a mere pleading of the "baby act." Any firm or corporation that cannot find out what wages it has agreed to pay its hands by the end of a week has merely to put on a sufficient clerical force to enable it to transact this part of its business with promptitude, and the problem will be solved. There is nothing experimental about it, as there are many large manufacturing establishments in this country, in which men work by the day or work by the piece, where wages are paid each week under a system that is apparently easily managed.

On the whole, the law is a good one, under existing conditions, but it will prove of no use to the ever-increasing army of the unemployed with whom the problem is how to get any wages at all, and not how often they shall be paid. So long as this army is in existence the probability is that the employers will eventually shift on to their employees any additional expense to which they are put in preparing for weekly payments. Such legislation is merely palliative, and does not touch the root of the labor problem.

#### A REPUBLICAN PAPER DEMANDING TAX REFORM.

The Daily Leader, a republican paper published at Bloomington, Ill., in discussing the political situation in that state manifests a disposition to oppose the programme of drawing out ex-Governor Oglesby and depending on his stumping powers as an off-set to those of ex-Governor Palmer, who is openly the democratic candidate for senator should a democratic legislature be chosen. It says that without resorting to any such expedient or putting its trust in old wheel horses, the republican party can defeat General Palmer, under a young democracy with new and untried leaders, if they go about it with sense and judgment.

It says: "The people want many radical reforms. The farmers throughout the state are organized, the laboring men are organized, and they are determined that their burdens shall be lessened. The situation is a critical one, and never was the time more ripe for a radical move than now. The thing for the republican party to do is not to scour the earth for as good a campaigner as General Palmer, but to look into the causes which are breeding discontent among the farmers and the workingmen." This is sound doctrine, and the Leader goes on to apply it. It declares that the tariff reform issue is a national one and concerns the people only indirectly, and that the great question is one of local tax reform. It intimates that the personal tax system in Illinois is a failure, and asks if it is not true that the rich man dodges a large part of his share of the burden. It asks if there is an assessor in the state who can swear that he levies the personal tax equally and whether any assessor could do such a thing if he were to try. It then goes on to denounce the personal tax system as a stupid jumble, which has never been a success anywhere or in any age, and suggests that the republicans of Illinois shall take up the question of local taxation and look to it to enable them to win success.

We doubt if the Bloomington Leader will be able to make the people believe that the tariff question is one that does not affect them closely, but we are willing to say one thing for it, and that is that if any diversion whatever could be created that would lead men away from the consideration of the tariff question it would be through just such a course as the Leader suggests. Local taxation

does not bear on people any more heavily than tariff taxation, but they are conscious of the former and feel its burdens keenly, whereas the burden imposed by the tariff is to some extent concealed by the facilities given to those who first pay the tax to transfer it to the consumers, who are unable to differentiate it from the price they pay for goods. We cannot join our Illinois contemporary in its desire that the tariff question shall be ignored, but after that question is settled single tax men of the country will be very much delighted to assist it and other republican journals in forcing on the people the consideration of the question of local taxation.

#### PROTECTION CANNOT STAND ATTACK.

The boldness and vigor with which Mr. George attacked protection in its stronghold at Melbourne, Victoria, seems to have astonished the people there, and their astonishment was all the greater because of the reception given to his speeches by audiences supposed to be thoroughly hostile to the free trade sentiment. The Evening Standard, in expressing its surprise that, while attacking protection, not only with logic, "but with withering scorn," Mr. George received the "continuous and enthusiastic applause of an immense audience," goes on to declare that this applause was more than anything else "a testimony to the public admiration of genuine pluck." We think it likely that before long the Victorian protectionists will find that it was something more than Mr. George's "pluck" that his audiences applauded. He attacked their favorite superstition in the only way in which it can be successfully attacked, and he doubtless made many converts and encouraged others, who have always believed in free trade, to come out and express themselves.

Mr. George himself, in his letter published last week, indicates his belief that the seeming devotion to protection in Victoria is very much a hollow sham and that underlying the apparent general acquiescence in the protective doctrine is a natural inclination toward absolute freedom of trade. The people of Victoria are probably in the condition that a very large portion of the people of the United States were in three or four years ago, before Mr. Cleveland had struck his blow at the protectionists' idol. They simply did not consider whether protection was right or wrong. Both parties seemed to approve that system, and the masses accepted it as something inevitable and as probably desirable. The moment it was attacked men began to doubt its value, and as the attack has become more vigorous and determined the natural tendency of all free men to believe in free trade has become more manifest from day to day. The more vigorous the attack the more rapid has been the growth of disgust with the protective idea.

#### MR. FLOWER'S ECONOMICS.

Mr. Roswell P. Flower, a wealthy banker, who enjoys the distinction of representing one of the districts of this city in congress, recently declared that "the true remedy for farmers' ills is the manufacturers' plan. They should regulate production. Raise only enough produce to meet the people's wants, and thereby get fair prices." Mr. Flower is in some respects one of the most reputable members of congress from this city. He is honest, philanthropic and public spirited, and since his party made up its mind that it was opposed to the existing tariff, Mr. Flower has made up his mind to the same thing. Yet here we find him uttering economic nonsense that would disgrace a school boy and suggesting an impossibility which, were it possible, would deprive the democratic demand for tariff reform of half its force.

Mr. Flower was born and brought up in the country. He has been engaged in large operations that must have had impressed upon him the fact that the United States cover a good deal of ground. He must, therefore, know that a proposition for the formation of a farmers' trust for regulating the total agricultural output is about as preposterous as would be a plan for catching all the fish in the sea with a single net, so much one would suppose that even Mr. Flower could see. If he were fit to represent any intelligent constituency in congress he would see further, however, and understand that the way to assure to the people an abundance of all of the good things that they desire, and for which alone they labor, is not to restrict production, but to facilitate production and make exchange absolutely free. After this is once accomplished we shall hear no more of "overproduction" until there is no one in the world with less food than he could eat, or less of clothing, shelter, or even of the comforts and luxuries of life, than a civilized man could desire. We respectfully suggest to Mr. Flower that he had better run for governor because the questions now before congress are beyond his comprehension. He is decidedly out of place there; but so are Turner, Dunphy, McCarthy, Cummings, Spinola, Quinn and Stahlnecker. Probably the only congressman representing New York city, capable of making an intelligent speech on the one great question before congress, is Mr. Fitch of the Thirteenth district. The others ought to be retired.

#### TAKE THE TAX OFF OF HOUSES.

The success of the movement to exempt personal property from municipal taxation in the city of Newport, Ky., should encourage our friends everywhere to attempt movements toward tax reform. Of course every thorough single taxer is in favor of the exemption of personal property, but outside of the single tax ranks there is still the old prejudice in favor of taxing a man because he is rich, which constantly manifests itself in the indignant question: "Would you allow millionaires to escape taxation?" The task of demonstrating to the masses that every tax on the products of labor will eventually be passed on to the consumer, and that taxes on consumption fall more heavily on the poor than on the rich, is a heavy one and cannot immediately be accomplished.

One step forward, however, could probably be taken without exciting the prejudice alluded to, and which only can be met by a careful argument on the principles of taxation. A mere child can understand that taxes on houses make houses scarcer and rents higher. The large number of people now interested in loan associations, and who are seeking through that co-operative agency to secure homes for themselves, already feel the gross injustice of the present system of fining a man for building a house. Therefore, without abating our demand for the removal of all taxes on the products of labor, it may be well to seek the line of least resistance and encourage a demand for taking the taxes off of houses. It will be a step in the right direction and the men who are thus drawn into a study of the question of taxation will eventually accept the whole single tax doctrine.

Let single tax men remember that they cannot do this or any other great thing by themselves. Let them take hold of the movements in which other people are interested. Our friends are not numerous or influential in Newport, but they took prompt advantage of the removal of several factories from that city on account of an increase of taxation to arouse public indignation against a system that driven factories away, and the result is that they have succeeded in interesting

the community to probably take the most advanced step toward the establishment of the single tax that has been taken anywhere in the United States.

#### RALPH BEAUMONT ON THE TARIFF.

In a recent number of the Knights of Labor Journal Mr. Ralph Beaumont, chairman of the Knights of Labor legislative committee, publishes an open letter addressed to the Hon. William McKinley, jr., leader of the republican majority in the house of representatives, in which he makes a severe attack on the bill directing the purchase of silver bullion and the issuing of treasury notes thereon, because the notes thus authorized are to be made a legal tender for customs taxes and all public dues and for reserves for banking associations, but not a legal tender in transactions between individuals. Mr. Beaumont insists on it that this is a discrimination in favor of bankers and business men as against farmers and other producers, and in the course of his letter he says:

You, as the leader of your party in the house, are on the point of pressing a measure through the house known as a tariff bill, which, you say, is to protect the tillers from ruinous competition from abroad. Let me again warn you that since the last campaign, which was fought out upon that issue, these same tillers have come to the conclusion that during that campaign they were laboring under a delusion; and they have come to a further conclusion that it is not from competition from abroad that they are suffering, but, on the contrary, from legal discriminations against them in the interest of corporate wealth, by just such unfair legislation as is contained in this bill.

Mr. Beaumont is right in protesting against the issue by government of any form of paper currency that is not a full legal tender for all purposes. The trouble with the old greenbacks was that they were discredited from the first by the refusal of the government to accept them in payment of taxes, which was practically an acknowledgement that their issuer did not regard them as good enough money for its own use.

We are particularly glad, however, to find Mr. Beaumont boldly warning Mr. McKinley that since the last campaign the tillers of the soil have come to the conclusion that they were laboring under a delusion when they voted to support the protective policy. We hope that Mr. Beaumont will devote his very large influence among workingmen to convincing them of the folly of the worship of the protection fetish. We are perfectly prepared to admit, in advance, that the overthrow of the protective system, alone, will not accomplish all that the friends of labor reasonably demand, but we do insist that so long as the protective superstition leads a large body of wage workers to make themselves the willing tools and abettors of the protected monopolists, who are now exacting from a republican congress the power to levy still higher taxes on all consumers, for their own benefit, in return for their contributions to the corruption fund of the last presidential campaign, that it is impossible to look to such workingmen for intelligent action on any public question whatever. If their enemies can lead them around by the nose in this fashion, any attempt to unite them in a determined effort in behalf of their own welfare will be futile.

#### MUDLED PEERS.

On Tuesday of last week the earl of Wemyss and March, in the British house of lords, made a speech denouncing the tendency of the government toward socialistic legislation. He said that parliament seemed ready for anything in the shape of "grandmotherly legislation," meddling with affairs like workmen's houses, the payment of wages and the feeding and education of the poor, which "ought to be left to private initiative." The earl of March was particularly severe on the London county council, which he

declared fostered projects to abolish leaseholds and deprive landlords of their ground rents. They even propose, he said, to take by compulsion, without compensation, property belonging to city guilds, in order to apply it to industrial schemes. The noble earl, who is ranked as a liberal conservative, thought things in a bad way and declared that the substitution of state help for self help was destroying the fiber of the nation.

Lord Salisbury, the tory prime minister, in reply, admitted a tendency to lean upon the state on every occasion, and declared that statesmen should be upon their guard against it. He defined socialism as "the doing by the state of something that might be done by private persons for gain," and said that such a course was sometimes wise and sometimes unwise. He declared that it was not practical politics to classify legislative proposals as socialistic or otherwise, and deprecated too much attention to what he called the specter of socialism. Nobody can deny, he said, that great evils exist, and the proper thing to do is to attempt to cure these evils whether we are called socialists or not. This declaration was heartily applauded.

It is perfectly apparent that neither the earl of March nor Lord Salisbury has ever given any real study to the subject that they thus discuss. Of course, almost any definition can be given to socialism, but the men who use the term in political discussion are bound to recognize the fact that it has a meaning that is becoming more definite from year to year, and that meaning is the control of all industry by direct action of government. That is what the men who claim the name of socialist demand, and it seems to us that, as they are the only people caring enough about the name to claim it, they are entitled to have their definition of the term accepted in ordinary discussion.

So long as so-called statesmen have no definite knowledge or clear convictions on the subject, the recognition of the evils that have grown out of the existing system will unquestionably tend to sweep the unthinking into one of two extremes—the support of the socialistic programme or the attempted defense of the existing condition. There is but one philosophy that proposes a remedy for the existing evils without resort to a socialistic system that will necessarily destroy individual independence, and tend, as the earl of March says, to destroy the fiber of every nation by attempts to suppress individual initiative and to abolish the need of personal enterprise and energy. That philosophy is what is sometimes called "the new political economy," which is embraced by the advocates of the single tax. It draws the line with unerring certainty between that which of right belongs to the individual and that which of right belongs to the community. The powers of government belong to all, and they can only be properly exercised for the benefit of all. Any attempt to farm them out to a few, or, in fact, to any number less than all, to be used for private benefit, is a direct violation of the people's rights. Again, any use of public power to put into the hands of individuals those properties and values due to the general activity instead of individual industry and enterprise, is likewise a clear violation of the rights of the many in the interest of a few. It is legislation for the classes against the masses.

Tried by this test the criticism of either of the two noblemen quoted will bear examination. The building of workmen's houses and the payment of wages, under a just system of government, in which the real rights of property are recognized, can properly be left to individuals to be arranged for by private

contract. On the other hand public education and the deprivation of landlords of taxing privileges improperly accorded to them, is part of the duty the government owes to the people. So, likewise, is the maintenance of the mint and post office, which Lord Salisbury describes as essentially socialistic. No mint or post office could be established by private parties without first borrowing public powers for the purpose. No highway can be built without the same delegation of public powers. These powers belong to the public and should never be farmed out. It is the duty of the public to so arrange its laws that men shall enjoy practical equality of access to natural resources, which are obviously the inheritance of the whole people, and which have been misappropriated through governmental action. This duty once performed, however, it is perfectly clear to the most ordinary intelligence that every man is absolutely entitled, of right, to the products of his own labor applied to his exact share of natural resources, and that he ought to be left to dispose of that which is his own, free from all interference or dictation on the part of the government.

Agriculture, manufactures, commerce, building and all of the other productive pursuits of men can and ought to be left to individual initiative, because they can be carried on by individuals or voluntary combinations of individuals, and they ought to be free, not merely from interference, but from taxation by the state. On the other hand, when private enterprise proposes to undertake the building of public highways, the use of the public streets for supplying light or water to cities, or for the use of a private monopoly assuming to offer to the public transportation facilities, the state in the name of the whole people should instantly forbid such usurpation of its powers and perform its own duty in supplying facilities which cannot be supplied by individuals without the use, for their own benefit, of public property.

#### GLEANINGS FROM "PROGRESS AND POVERTY."

What is wealth?

Answer—Wealth is everything produced by labor on land or by labor on the products of land, pp. 146 and 367. Whether assisted by capital or not, pp. 50, 51, 52, 55 and 146.

What is capital?

Answer—Capital is that part of wealth in course of exchange, p. 41; or, in other words, that part of wealth which is devoted to the aid of production, p. 37.

Wealth in the form of a pleasure carriage or such articles of wealth as are in the hands of the consumer are not capital, pp. 38, 40 and 41.

What is labor?

Answer—All human exertion, pp. 33 and 34.

What is legitimate interest (pp. 172 to 175) or the wages (pp. 19, 179 and 180) of capital?

Answer—The legitimate earnings of capital, and not the profits of monopoly, pp. 172 to 175.

What are the legitimate wages of labor? (The term wages as here used has a much wider meaning than the common one, as it includes the pay to professional men, managers, clerks and others, and, in short, all returns, for exertion, p. 28.)

Answer—All the wealth that is produced on earth. Because the three agents or factors of production are land, labor and capital, p. 28. Labor on land produces all wealth (when capital assists in production it is employed by labor), pp. 36, 146 and 176. Therefore, as labor produces all wealth (which of course includes capital), all wealth that is produced belongs to labor. Labor pays capital its legitimate wages or interest, pp. 146 and 176. Profits of monopoly are not legitimate interest, but are the robbery of labor, pp. 173 to 175.

Under proper conditions laborers would pay for their share of government expenses out of the rental value of the land which they made use of, p. 358.

Also, the only individuals who would be allowed to hold land would be those who used all that they occupied, and consequently laborers would get all that belonged to them, pp. 173 to 175, and this, together with the largely increased production of wealth, would exterminate poverty and give abundance to all, pp. 391 and 392.

How are wages to be raised and to be always kept up to the full earnings of labor and capital?

Answer—By creating a demand for laborers and capital equal to or greater than the supply, pp. 393 and 394.

How is this demand to be created?

Answer—By opening up land (natural opportunities) free to labor and capital, removing taxes from everything that labor produces and taking the full rental value of land for government purposes, pp. 364, 365 and 394.

Is there any land which can be opened up free to labor and capital?

Answer—Yes. Immense tracts of land are held idle by speculators and monopolists. A person has but to look about him and he will see in his own neighborhood a large amount of idle land, and looking further he will also see vacant lots and building land in the cities, and in the country he will find that there are millions of acres of coal land, oil land, mines, timber, etc., as well as agricultural lands lying idle, and at the same time idle men and idle capital, pp. 361, 392, 393.

How is this idle land to be opened up free to labor and capital?

Answer—Place a tax on idle land equal to improved land in the neighborhood, making it too expensive for the speculator to hold land without using it himself, or drop it so labor and capital, who are anxious to use it, could do so, and this would create a very largely increased demand for both labor and capital, pp. 371, 392 to 394.

How will the abolition of all taxes help to create a demand for laborers and capital equal to or greater than the supply?

Answer—Taxes on anything produced by labor is a check on and a discouragement to the production of those things; tax manufacturers and the effect is to check manufacturing; tax capital and the effect is to drive it away, pp. 368 and 371; and so on all the way through. Take taxes off everything produced by labor and there will be a large increase in the production of those things, and consequently a stimulus and an increased demand for labor and capital, p. 389.

Thus far it is the practical part of the subject—the question of justice now naturally arises, preface IX.

Would it be just and equitable for the full rental value of land to be taken for government purposes?

Answer—Yes; everyone, under that system, would pay his fair share toward the support of government for the reason that property in land is different from any other kind of property, pp. 299 to 304. [And, according to the scriptures, God created the land and gave it to all his children, share and share alike. Lev., 25: 10, 23, 25 to 28. Num., 26: 52 to 56. Josh., 18: 10. Neh., 5: 11. Prov., 23: 10 and 11. Eccl., 5: 8 and 9. Isa., 10: 1 and 2. Eze., 46: 18; 47: 14. James, 5: 4.] All property other than land is created by man's labor exerted on land or the products of land, and what a man produces belongs to him and no one else, while what land God created belongs to all the people, pp. 299 to 304, 377. Land values are produced by population by the people as a community. What is land worth where there are no people? And as what an individual produces is morally all his or hers, so, also, that value produced by a community of individuals morally belongs to the community, share and share alike. Consequently this value is the natural and just source of revenue, and thereby each individual pays his or her share of the said revenue, pp. 377 and 378.

What would be the method for allotting

to everyone his share of the land when this system was put into practice?

Answer—It is not practical in a highly civilized community to divide up land and give everyone a slice, but the same is accomplished by dividing the rental value of the land among the people, and everyone, who desired, could have a particular section or lot who paid the community for privilege of using it to the exclusion of everybody else, pp. 362, 363 and 358.

Would the revenue from land values alone be sufficient to pay all the expenses of government?

Answer—Yes. Even in the newest country the value of land is insufficient to pay all expenses of government. In the better developed countries it is much more than sufficient, p. 365, and, according to investigations by good authorities (Thomas G. Shearman of New York, for instance), there would be a surplus of about thirty-five per cent over and above government expenses. This, under a system of taking the full rental value of land, would be shared equally by carrying on extensive public works and improvements or by dividing it up per capita.

From the foregoing it will be seen that to pay the rental value of land into private pockets is wrong and unjust.

How would land tenures or permanent occupancy of land be secured under the "single tax?"

Answer—Permanent occupancy of land can be secured by the occupier paying the community or state for the privilege of occupying and using any particular piece of land to the exclusion of every body else, pp. 358 and 363.

Philadelphia. GEO. E. CHASE.

#### PUNISH DRUNKENNESS AS A CRIME.

I was for years a sincere advocate of prohibitory laws, but have more recently come to believe that general prohibition as a remedy for intemperance is a failure. No man ever labored more honestly than I did, with tongue and pen, for the temperance cause. But it was like throwing feathers against the wind. I am to-day as strong a temperance man as ever, and were it in my power I would blot from existence every drop of intoxicating liquor, and with it the art of manufacturing the vile stuff. But state laws for the suppression of the liquor traffic do not meet the requirements of the age. No matter what may be said against the liquor traffic; no matter how fiercely temperance advocates may demand the closing of the saloons; no matter how many times a day the most frightful examples of drunkenness are held up before the public; so long as people want liquor they will find a way of getting it. All the prohibitory laws in Christendom will not prevent them; at least, not for any considerable period of time. There is among the people of this country a pervading sentiment against everything in the shape of prohibitory liquor laws; a strong aversion to legal enactments which presume to dictate what the people may or may not drink. An overwhelming majority of the American people, I believe, look upon sumptuary liquor laws as an unwarrantable infringement upon personal rights. This sentiment is not confined to "drinking men," or those who take their alcoholic stimulants regularly and daily. It is found among thousands who consider themselves temperance men, and who scarcely swallow a glass of liquor once a year. In the light of this fact, it is easy to see why every law passed with the view of suppressing the liquor traffic finds Jordan such a hard road to travel. It is not backed up by public sentiment; hence it proves a failure, to a greater or less extent.

There is, however, a species of legislation that can be made very effective in diminishing drunkenness and its concomitant evils. It is this: Give us a law making drunkenness a crime, and providing an adequate punishment therefor. The man who gets drunk commits a moral crime. The law should treat him as a criminal. Under our present laws drunkenness is only a misdemeanor, and a very trifling one at that. The offender is "pulled in," taken before a magistrate,

and fined in any sum from one dollar up, as the court may think proper. If the drunken brute has a family, as is usually the case, his wife and children are left with just so much less money for their necessities as the amount of the fine imposed on the head of the family; and on payment thereof, the whisky bloat is turned loose to repeat the spree, and so on down, until in a fit of drunken "insanity," he shocks the community by the commission of some more heinous crime.

Now this is not only a travesty upon justice, but a damnable outrage upon the community. No drunken man should be permitted to run at large for five minutes. The moment a man gets drunk he becomes dangerous. It is impossible to tell at what moment an intoxicated man may commit robbery, arson, murder, or any other crime of which he is physically capable. He has no more right to be loose than has a mad dog. There should be a law and an institution for just such a criminal. For the first offense, on conviction before any competent court, the man guilty of the crime of drunkenness, should be disfranchised and sent to a workhouse for, say, one year. For the second offense, two years, and so on, doubling the time for each repetition of the crime. While in the workhouse he should be kept at hard labor and paid wages therefor, his earnings mostly going to his family, if he have one; otherwise, they should be used to help support the institution.

With such a law as this, I would say to every moderate drinker in the state:

"If you wish to drink liquor you are at liberty to do so. We do not propose to interfere with your personal rights in this respect. Consider yourself boss of your own appetite. Drink seldom or drink often, but if you become intoxicated you do so at your peril. Drunkenness is a crime, and he who commits this crime shall be punished severely. Beware how you cross the line."

Such a law, rigidly enforced, would do more toward suppressing drunkenness than all the laws ever passed looking to the prohibition of the liquor traffic. If any state legislature will enact such a law, and the saloon licenses, if issued at all, are made to cost not less than \$500, I warrant you that within the next year drunkenness will decrease in that state at least seventy-five per cent. And who can doubt that with a decrease of drunkenness, there will be a corresponding diminution of other crimes?

For my part I am tired of so much maudlin sympathy and sickly sentimentalism in behalf of "the poor inebriate." If there is any difference between the habitual drunkard and a professional horse thief, it is in favor of the latter. The thief simply steals other people's property. The drunkard deliberately puts himself in a condition to not only steal, but burn, rob and murder. The thief when convicted gets a reward of five or ten years in the penitentiary. The drunkard is punished by a trifling fine and turned loose. To-morrow he indulges in the luxury of another drunk, and supplements it by hammering his wife and battering his children. The next day he goes into a Young men's Christian association temperance meeting, signs a pledge which he may possibly keep forty-eight hours, makes a speech and receives the congratulations, the sympathies and the benedictions of well meaning, but short-sighted philanthropists. For the time being he is a hero, and receives more attention and assistance than would be extended to a dozen honest poor men who have always kept sober.

Again, a man puts that into his mouth which "steals away his brains," roams around in a semi-frenzied condition, and finally murders a fellow being. Such instances are frightfully common. Possibly he is at last punished for the murder; if so, it is only after a long delay and at great expense to the county. Now how much better to have had that wretch arrested the moment he was known to be drunk, and placed where he could do some good and no harm, instead of waiting until he had committed the greater crime of murder. Peaceable citizens have a right to be

protected from the assaults and depredations of drunken men, and the most effective way to provide such protection is to place drunkenness in the category of felonies, and let everybody know that the man who gets drunk will be punished severely. Protection for the people cannot be secured by preaching prohibition nor praying for "the poor inebriate." I have no word of apology to offer for the saloon keeper. But I respectfully suggest that if one-half the effort made to "close up saloons" by prohibitory laws were directed toward securing the enactment of a law making drunkenness a felony and punishing it as it deserves, fifty times more good might be accomplished.

RALPH E. HOYT.

Los Angeles, Cal., May 14, '90.

#### NATIONAL PAUPER FARMS.

Supported by the taxpayers in each county throughout our land, the county alms house stands, its maimed, decrepit, imbecile occupants partly earning, by work on adjacent land, the cost of their maintenance there by producing wheat, corn, potatoes, poultry and live stock.

Regarded as a charitable institution, this pauper farm is highly commendable; but, as a profitable and desirable business enterprise for enriching the county that supports it, 'tis a most miserable failure.

Of course, supplying the needed shoes, clothing, food, medicine and utensils its inmates consume, gives patronage to the neighboring shoemaker, clothier, grocer, doctor and utensil maker, and work to their numerous employees, thus keeping a small army of satellites busily engaged.

Still no sane man will dare assert this pauper farm to be a business enterprise, so wealth-producing, beneficial and enriching to the county supporting it, that its prototype should be multiplied and increased a thousand fold, because of its wealth creating capacity.

Yet, strange as it may seem, near half the people in our land indorse, under a different name, a precisely similar thing. So much repulsive ideas gain by wearing pretty names.

Illustrative of this point, there is a poor house farm whereon the confined paupers by their labor earned three-fifths of what it costs to keep them there. In other words, each inmate daily earns sixty cents toward a living which costs \$1 per day, leaving the county taxpayers to make up the forty cents deficit.

The idea that such a bounty-needing pauper farm enriches the county supporting it, that the greater number of such pauper farms a county has depending on it for support the better for her taxpayers and people generally, and that every increase of her pauper farms creates a proportional increase in the county's general wealth and prosperity, is too utterly preposterous to entertain for a single moment.

Equally absurd is the proposition that this eleemosynary institution enriches, benefits and prospers the county more than do those lucrative, self-supporting vocations from which its bounties by taxation are drawn, and that it is desirable to draw from these independent and remunerative occupations their able-bodied, self-supporting employees and place them on such charity-needing pauper farms.

Yet, right across the highway, opposite this pauper farm, there stands a factory, wherein, 'tis said, the workmen can't make living wages, unless consumers of their product can be taxed to pay for it forty per cent more than its true worth, by barring them from elsewhere buying precisely similar goods that much cheaper under penalty of a sixty-seven per cent tariff. In other words, this factory, just like the pauper farm, needs bounties through "protection" to bridge the deficit caused by its running at a loss.

For, were it self-supporting, it would need no government "protection" from being undersold, the same as pauper farms, if self-supporting, would need make no assessment on the county tax payers.

So, while physical and mental disability entitles these poor farm inmates to draw (as alms) two-fifths of their support from

people of their county by direct taxation the robust and vigorous minded factory hands unmerited draw (as alms) two-fifths of their support from consumers of their product throughout the land, by means of the indirect taxes protective tariffs enable them collect in shape of advanced prices for their goods.

Protection-needing factories and their inmates therefore rest on precisely the same charity footing as poor farms and their occupants.

To the people of the nation, one bears the same relation as the other bears to people of its county.

In fact, while one is a county pauper farm, the other is a national pauper farm.

The managers of both alike grow rich, arrogant and haughty.

Their inmates alike remain poor, dependent and humble.

Between the two, their only difference is in methods of obtaining alms, and that in one case the recipients, because of misfortune, are deserving objects of charity, in the other they are not. Consequently if such protected factories increase our national wealth, assist the laboring class in general, and bring the showers of blessings ascribed them by protectionists, then must county poor farms likewise do the same, and vice versa.

In either case the argument is equally valid.

For the factory cited above, substitute the rice farm, sugar farm, sheep farm, mineral farm or silk factory, and the perfect parallel between them and the county poor farm becomes even more openly, conspicuously and strikingly analogous, especially since a bounty from the national treasury is proposed for silk and sugar.

Studied by such a parallel it does seem that even the most obtuse mind, without fail, must grasp and comprehend the true relation of tariff protected industries to the legitimate self-supporting lines of business on which they prey.

Their parasite nature thus becomes as evident and distinguishable as are the vermin on his woolly back distinguishable from the afflicted sheep that carries them.

Yet, all these flattering things which sound so real absurd when said of county pauper farms, evoke applause in lusty storms when so-called "statesmen" say them of those national pauper farms they call "protected industries."

When, O when, will flimsy masks of sweet sounding misnomers cease to hide the horrid forms of gross injustice, tyranny and theft. D. WEBSTER GROH.

Boston, Mass.

#### APHORISMS.

The men who own the land can and do live off the labor of the men who own no land.

The man who owns no land has no lawful right to occupy land owned by another without the other's consent.

If the few own all the land that is accessible, this few hold the lives of the many who own no land at their disposal.

All men as well as all other living creatures must live on land. The title to land is derived by legislative enactments.

Every man of proper qualification is a sovereign and an equal participant in the enactment of laws, if he is disposed to exercise the privilege.

If men have by diffidence, ignorance or any other cause permitted a few of their own species through the operation of some legal device to usurp and own all the desirable land, and thus put themselves in the power of a few whose "right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness" is no more sacred than their own, they have been much less considerate in regard to their own rights than any other living creatures.

There is no other species of the animal creation that will voluntarily consent to do menial service to another after the period of parental obligation ceases. All animals, including man, have to eat or die. Everything that serves for food comes from the land. To sever man's connection with land by a proviso of pur-

chase money or rent is like severing the connection of a tree or shrub by lifting it out of the ground. It withers and dies, and so it is with man as exemplified by infantile mortality in the tenement houses of your crowded cities. Nero, who fiddled while Rome burned, has been denounced by all Christendom as a heinous monster, but he was a saint compared with our modern land gods who are basking in perfect serenity right in the midst of this misery, without its exciting a scintilla of commiseration on their part.

A man without land is like a bird without wings, a cat without claws, a dog without teeth, a fish without fins, a kangaroo without a tail, all of which might possibly get a living without these natural appendages, but at the same disadvantage as a man without land. None of them, however, is so devoid of sense as to surrender necessary appendage, and then to be forced to pay for or hire the use of them.

I have examined and criticised all the multifarious reforms that have been proposed for the amelioration of mankind for the last fifty years, and I can see nothing more admirably and well adapted to bring man nearer to the earth, where he belongs, than the tax on land values.

E. SMALLEY.

#### OUR WASHINGTON LETTER.

GERRYMANDING CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICTS AND STEPS TAKEN TO PREVENT IT—THE DIFFICULTY OF ESTABLISHING A FIXED RULE—CHARLES FREDERICK ADAMS'S PLAN—BASED ON THE PRESENT MACHINERY OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES—SENATOR STANFORD'S PLAN FOR GOVERNMENT LOANS ON AGRICULTURAL LAND—REPORTS FROM THE SENATE COMMITTEE OF IRRIGATION OF ARID LANDS—ANOTHER BIG LAND GRAB ERA POSSIBLE—POINTS OF SPECIAL INTEREST TO SINGLE TAX MEN—PROGRESS IN HYATTSVILLE, MD.

WASHINGTON, D. C., May 26.—Mr. Butterworth's incidental remark during his recent speech, scoring the "five gentlemen" responsible for the tariff bill, that his utterances were in no way affected by his hopes for a political future, as he was now out of politics, had reference to the reapportioning of congressional districts which the democrats have been carrying out in Ohio. By this rearrangement of boundaries the district which sent Mr. Butterworth to congress will be made to deliver a democratic majority hereafter, and Mr. Butterworth, one of the foremost men in the republican party, will be left at home. The same thing seems likely to occur in other districts that are republican, and it is with the purpose of preventing this that Mr. Hoar has introduced into the senate, and Mr. McComas and Mr. Wickham into the house, bills which in effect prescribe that the districts from which the members of the house of representatives of the next congress shall be elected shall be, respectively, the same in territory and boundaries as those from which the members of the present congress were elected. Now, while the republicans of Ohio ought not to complain of this gerrymandering by the democrats, since it is not many years ago that they apportioned the districts solely to suit themselves, it is, nevertheless, clear that a line should somewhere be drawn, as each succeeding party may in the course of a few years alter the boundaries of districts so as to send its own party candidates to congress. But who shall say that as long as the present system prevails district lines should not be redrawn as population shifts and changes? The difficulty, even with party bias out, is to draw those lines fairly. Shall a district be round, or square, or oblong, or triangular, or can it have any prescribed shape at all? This is left to be settled in each case at the caprice or interest of party managers. It would seem to be a difficulty inseparable from the system. It is allied to that other evil which obliges a man to be a resident of the state which he represents in congress, and the observance of which has resulted in the forced withdrawal from the national councils, by being beaten in their localities on purely local issues, of men able and experienced in public affairs and ranked among the chief exponents of their parties' policy. Instances of this were seen in the defeat of William Morrison for re-election to the house, and of Judge Thurman to the senate. Under the English system these prominent men, rejected in their own constituencies, would have been gladly taken up and sent to congress by others, just as, for example, when John Bright was refused by Manchester he was accepted by Birmingham, which he repre-

sented till the time of his death. This would ever keep the best men of the parties in congress and prevent merely local matters from hampering or tying the hands of those whose best efforts should be given to measures not of petty interest, but for the general welfare. Indeed, it is commonly said that it was with the object of escaping these petty distractions and annoyances, and the necessarily frequent appeal to a local constituency for re-election, as much as to get away from the interminable confusion and friction of the house, that Mr. Carlisle sought election to the senate.

It is to meet these difficulties that Mr. Charles Frederick Adams of the single tax club of this city comes forward with a plan which, while simple in its operation, requires no new machinery, and insures the additional advantage over the present system of an approximation to proportional representation. Observing the usage in business meetings of private corporations of permitting a vote for every share or number of shares, even though one individual controls a great amount of the stock and casts many votes, and noting how absolutely its feasibility has been demonstrated, Mr. Adams applies the principle to representation in the lower house of congress. The plan contemplates the proxy system and would permit votes to be cast from any part of the United States for any candidate, no matter where he might live within our borders. A man in Texas could vote for a citizen in Maine. Say the number to be elected was limited to the number contained in the present house, then the 333 candidates receiving the greatest number of votes at the polls would be pronounced elected, and each person so elected would be authorized to cast, in the transaction of business in the house, not one vote, as at present, but as many votes as he had received at his election. Thus, each member would exercise a voting strength in proportion to the number of citizens who supported him. If Mr. McKinley, for instance, received one million votes at the congressional election and another member but ten thousand, Mr. McKinley would cast, in passing on measures in the house, one million votes and the other member ten thousand. There would, therefore, be no necessity for a party's striving to get as many of its candidates as possible elected, as one man could represent all those votes, and by his simple "aye" or "nay" throw their whole weight for or against a measure. Hence, the tendency would be not to dissipate the strength of the party on a great number of candidates, but rather to concentrate it on a few well-known leaders. It would embolden men to act upon their convictions, and not hide them, for they would no longer have to fear contracted districts where such ideas had not taken hold. Mr. Butterworth, for example, being elected by the votes of men scattered all over the country, would not, after making a magnificent speech enunciating the principles of free trade, feel compelled to vote for a bill imposing heavy burdens upon thousands of articles of import. Nor would members feel constrained, to so great an extent, at any rate, to avoid the avowal of new ideas—the single tax, for instance. sectional animosities would tend to more rapidly disappear, for such southern men as Mills, McMillan, Breckinridge and Wilson of West Virginia would receive many northern votes, and such northern men as McKinley, Pitt, Payson and Lodge would doubtless receive many southern votes. Local jabs would tend to lessen, since members would no longer be wholly dependent on particular localities, and, altogether, members of the house of representatives would seem much freer to act and have more incentive to distinguish themselves before the country than is possible under the present system.

To affect all this would simply require the canvassing of the official returns, which have, under the present system, to be sent to congress. These returns show precisely how the vote is cast in each district, even to the weakest candidate and the last ballot. The new plan requires no change from this, but simply that after a general election, in which every voter shall have voted for whomsoever he pleased living anywhere within the United States, these returns be got together and all the votes cast for each candidate be learned.

Senator Stanford's proposal that the government shall go into the pawn-broking business and lend money on land, can be looked upon as nothing more or less than a cheap piece of demagogery. The bill which he has introduced provides that the government shall lend money up to fifty per cent of the assessed value of agricultural land, exclusive of improvements, at two per cent interest per annum. It confines itself to agricultural lands, but, says the senator, "in time its provisions will probably be extended to some other kinds of property, and even to municipalities with proper restrictions." Even sup-

pose such a plan were workable and were not open to the fundamental objection of paternalism, by what right are owners of agricultural lands to be favored above all other citizens? Yet what becomes of any benefit if all share it equally? In that case it must simply amount to all the citizens of the nation conferring a benefit upon each of the citizens of the nation—a taking from one pocket of what is placed in the other, with a good deal of loss in making the transfer. In view of the fact that the author of this bill has been governor of a great state, and has always been in the midst of public affairs; that he is said to be a hundred times a millionaire, and is among the first on Thomas G. Shearman's list of the few thousand men who own most of the wealth of the United States; and moreover, that he has for many years been the nominal and real head of the great railroad corporation which holds California as in a vice, and by virtue of which he now sits in the United States senate—the proposition can be treated only as a transparent piece of deception, to use no stronger term. It forcibly brings to mind the custom of the nobles, when Rome had become rotten within, to distribute provisions and provide pageants and circuses for the impoverished and degraded populace when it was necessary to get votes. The distinguished senator from California seriously persists in pressing this proposal forward, as if he really believes it will bring him popularity and the presidency of the United States, which it is commonly said he is anxious to obtain.

This bald proposal to benefit a class, is it any worse or any different from the principle behind some of our laws and in some of the great measures now before congress? What is the central idea of the protective tariff but that of giving aid to a class—the manufacturing class? What is the proposal to subsidize steamship lines but a plan to confer a benefit on the shipping class? What does the "dependent pension" bill mean but the giving to a lot of men who fought in the late war, and who for any reason cannot now make a living, of pensions from the general treasury, which, according to one estimate, will mount up to forty millions of dollars, and to another estimate as high as seventy-five millions? All this savors of centralization and paternalism, and Senator Stanford's proposition is no worse in principle.

Two reports have been presented by the senate committee on irrigation. It is held in the majority report, which is approved by Senators Stewart of Nevada, Plumb of Kansas, Moody of South Dakota and Casey of North Dakota, that the whole work of irrigation should be left to private hands, and therefore favors vesting all rights in such persons. Two years ago, seeing how these great water privileges were being seized by corporations, congress reserved all the irrigable lands from entry and settlement. In utter violation of this act corporations were formed under the laws of states and territories, and many of the water rights and much of the land was taken up and is now held by them. Senator Stewart and the three senators associated with him support a bill which if passed will validate these claims. Twenty such irrigation companies are said to have been organized in New Mexico alone. Senator Stewart also proposes to take the irrigable lands out of the control of the bureau of geological survey and place them in the agricultural department. No good reason is given for this, and in view of the fact that Major Powell has always been vigilant and jealous of the treatment of the arid lands, this proposal wears a bad complexion.

The minority report, signed by Senator Reagan of Texas, Gorman of Maryland and Jones of Arkansas, not only refuses to recognize any corporations which have illegally possessed themselves of irrigable lands or of water privileges, but outlines a policy unique in our treatment of the public lands. This policy has before been indicated in THE STANDARD. It provides that the government shall have the arid regions surveyed, the catchment basins indicated, the place for dams and ditches marked out, and the amount of irrigable agricultural land shown. Such agricultural land shall be open to entry and settlement, in no greater lots, however, than eighty acres to each settler. The timber and pasture lands shall be held in common by the dwellers in such hydrographic basin. The source of the general water supply shall forever vest in the federal government. It would be the aim to give to each irrigation basin the right of self-government, subject, of course, to the general laws of the state or territory in which it lay. The ideas behind the two reports are, therefore, seen to be very different, the one countenancing land grabs on an immense scale and the other making a real effort toward the settlement

of the arid regions with small proprietors, while reserving to the general government the all important water privileges, and lastly, though by no means least, making a very big step in the direction of the single tax principle in guaranteeing to all the dwellers of a hydrographic basin the equal enjoyment in all the timber lands and pasturage therein. No time has yet been set for the consideration of these bills.

During the fortnight there has been an election at Hyattsville, one of the two Maryland towns of which I spoke the other day as having taken the first steps toward the single tax. Mr. Sebastian Aman was elected a town commissioner on purely personal grounds, principles having no part in the contest. The first thing he did upon taking his place in the board was to offer a resolution declaring it exceedingly inadvisable to tax personal property at this time, and it was unanimously agreed to. The resolution was intended to indicate to the assessors that they need not enter the houses and examine their contents, as the commissioners had no intention of levying a personal property tax, such a tax being conceded on all hands to be inquisitorial, unequal and difficult of collection. To this argument, and upon this line of action, all single tax men will agree, as they will to the next step, which will probably be to increase the assessment of land, and especially of vacant land. It must be borne in mind that many of those moving in this matter would by no means call themselves single taxers. They are hard headed business men viewing the taxation question from a purely business standpoint, and wish to proceed slowly and carefully. The good effects of such a change in taxation cannot be doubted, and if towns and villages all over the country would pursue this policy there would, in a very short time, be such beneficial results to show that the whole single tax movement would receive a tremendous impulse forward.

HENRY GEORGE, JR.

#### NOTES AND QUERIES.

Under the ballot reform law passed by the last legislature it will be necessary to add 107 new election districts to this city. This makes Dana moan, despite the indorsement he gave "Governor Hill's ballot reform measure" two weeks ago.

The ice barons of this city are having a great time. The present price of ice gives them a profit of 200 per cent; but they want more, and will get it. It is going to bear hard on our poor people, but they are law-abiding citizens, so no danger need be apprehended. When the warm days come, and hardly a breath of air can be had in the close tenements; when only warm water comes from the faucets with which to assuage thirst; when the puny baby on its pauper mother's breast, burning with fever, cries in vain for a cooling draught, then will be the time to shove up the price of ice to the 400 per cent profit mark. When the little pine coffins come streaming through the front doors of these same tenements, containing the bodies of infants from which the fires of fever have driven out the life, then will be the time when the ice monopolist can buy diamonds galore, or wine or fine cigars galore. Keep on, friends. The death of a pauper does not count in these days, and diamonds and wine, and the finest of cigars, are necessary to your existence. Keep on.

A correspondent of the News-Democrat of Canton, Ohio, propounds a pertinent conundrum, as follows:

Why is McKinley like King George III?  
Answer—Because he is engaged in doing just what the Declaration of Independence indicts the British tyrant for, viz.: "Cutting off our trade with all parts of the world."

Mr. Dana seems to think there will be about twenty-five new parties in the field this fall. Why does Mr. Dana not improve the opportunity and put a Sun party in the field? He has a Sun hat, a Sun cholera mixture and probably a Sun brand of vitriol; why not start a Sun party! With a stiletto for its symbol it would sweep the Second assembly district.

Chauncey M. Depew says that the lazy man is always a pauper. But then Chauncey spends so much of his time in talking that he has very little time in which to think over what he is going to say. Concerning the above remark, the Boulder Age of Montana says: "If Chauncey would come out to Montana and get acquainted with some of the men who live here, he might come to the conclusion that he doesn't know half as much of the causes of poverty as he thinks he does. There are some quite rich people who are voluntarily idle and who do not seem to get any poorer for their idleness. Such men as

Depew are simply hunting up excuses to ease the consciences of monopolists who are getting from the people money which they do not earn, thereby getting richer while the people are getting poorer."

Andrew Carnegie, in an article in the London Star of May 3, tells "How to win fortune." He more than intimates that fortune can be won by "industry, frugality, and so forth." It would be better had he told how he won his fortune; but as he has not vouchsafed that information, we will: He started in a business on the products of which a protective tariff had been placed. He soon saw that the protective tariff was a private "snap," so he helped, financially and otherwise, to get some more of the same kind of tariff. The more the tariff he got the bigger the "snap" became, until he got so rich as to be able to buy castles in Scotland, while at the same time judiciously investing capital in American politics, whereby he could get more tariff. There is reason to believe that Mr. Carnegie himself has doubts about the methods by which he attained his present "competence." Conscience seems to prick him every once in a while, and when it does he tries to soothe it by building a library for workingmen or a public hall. The workingmen who piled up his millions for him at low wages are still working for a living, if they can find the work to do, and are still living in the same old hovels they lived in while the tariff gave him four or five dollars for each dollar earned by his employes.

Our government has before it a grave problem, which must be solved. A collector of customs on the Canada borders reports that a pauper Canadian has recently built a house in such a manner as to place it directly upon the boundary line between this country and Canada, thereby placing one-half of the house within the United States and the other half in Canada, and he wants to know what he shall do in the event that he has reason to believe that "dutiable merchandise is deposited or has been placed therein or carried through or into the same without payment of duties and in violation of law." The assistant secretary of the treasury has taken the dilemma by one horn. He decrees that if any building is so placed as to fall both within the United States and a foreign country, it must be construed to be wholly within the United States for all customs purposes; so the officer is instructed to "assess duty upon the whole house with reference to its component parts." But suppose the Canadian government objects to the United States assessing goods which rest upon their soil—what then? There is the other horn of the dilemma. It will be interesting to watch the diplomacy that will have to be used between the two governments over this question shortly—provided somebody doesn't burn down or carry off the Canadian's house meantime.

His grace of Argyll, in the current Nineteenth Century, gives to the world a reason which to some may justify landlordism. The duke is telling the life of Wolfe Tone; and he says that while on a visit to a gentleman's house in the county Down, Wolfe Tone was struck by the fact that "a farm at a smart [high] rent was always better cultivated than one at a low rent." The duke says, in commenting on this impression: "His [Wolfe Tone's] rapid perceptions made him see in a moment that rents are not determined by those who receive them, but by those who pay them—that sharp rent imply competition, and that competition very naturally arises from an active and thriving industry."

\* \* \* At last he could understand how some necessity for exertion is a stimulus to industry, and how a low rent may often be nothing but a prescription for idleness made easy." Therefore, from the duke's standpoint, landlords are a blessing, not a curse. If rents were low, people wouldn't work so hard; and if there were no such thing as rent, people wouldn't work at all. See the point! The higher rent is, the harder people work.

William Corkhill, South Riverside, California.—Is the decline of American shipping due to the tariff or to the way in which a ship's capacity is measured in this country? A single tax friend claims the latter, and I differ with him.

The same man claims that Henry George is inconsistent, inasmuch as he claims that authors (or the works of authors) should be protected and all else should be free.

In the first place your friend is not a single tax man. He manifestly believes in the tariff system which levies several thousand taxes on various products of human labor. The decline of American shipping is solely due to the tariff and not to any system of measuring the capacity of ships, since the system of measuring now existing is that which existed in the days when our shipping was prosperous. It so happened that at a period when American shipping was practically

driven from the seas, during the war of the rebellion, the exigencies of commerce required the substitution of iron for wood as the material for ocean steamers. Thanks to our tariff legislation, and to that alone, it was rendered impossible to build iron ships as cheaply in America as they can be built abroad, and therefore the American commercial marine never recovered from the blow delivered during the war, and practically perished. There is not a shadow of excuse for this, as under conditions of absolute free trade iron can be produced in America more cheaply to-day than it is produced in England, and the advantage in this respect enjoyed by our country is likely to increase from year to year.

Your friend again demonstrates that he does not understand the real purpose of the single tax, when he declares that a claim that authors should be confirmed in their natural right to the product of their own labor and ingenuity is analogous to the claim that American manufacturers should be protected by a tariff. An author produces a book. The product is his as much as a brick produced by a brickmaker belongs to him, if he acquired the clay honestly. If there is any use of government on this earth it is to protect men in just such rights, and in order to protect them properly it must itself cease to take from them a part of their products. On the other hand, when a man who has made a brick wants some other man taxed for fear that the other man will sell bricks cheaper than he is willing to sell them, he asks the government not to protect, but to destroy the value of some other man's product. He is at heart a robber, asking his government to commit a crime for his benefit, and there is all of the difference between the two transactions that there is between a demand for justice and a demand for absolute villainy.

The residents of Westport Harbor, Mass., are in a state of mind. Their new landlord is the cause of it. In examining his lately bought possessions, he found that his "rights" had been encroached upon. That part of the Atlantic ocean which laves Westport Harbor beach, and the beach itself, had been regarded by the inhabitants contiguous thereto, from time immemorial, as common property; and they have, in days gone, built upon this beach bathing cottages, where those longing for the embraces of Neptune could properly array (or, more correctly, disarray) themselves for a consideration. Fences attached to seaside residences were permitted to "encroach" upon the beach. Farmers and fishermen had been in the habit, since the place was founded, of collecting seaweed along the shore. But Mr. Edward Howland of Compton, the new landlord mentioned above, has set out to change all this. On his last visit to Westport Harbor he took with him a gross or two of brass padlocks, which now decorate all the cottages along the beach, the keys of which may be had on application to him during business hours—for a consideration, of course. This landlord has gone so far as to place a padlock on cottages in which people were living, locking their front door and compelling them to seek egress elsewhere. He has ordered fences torn down, has forbidden that any more of "his seaweed" shall be taken without first arranging with him, and otherwise so conducted himself as to leave the impression on the Westport Harbor mind that he is "boss." The bathing cottage owners are mad clear through; so are the farmers and fishermen; so is everybody else. Only Howland is serene. Meantime it is easy to show to these angry people the beautiful proportions of the single tax eat.

The Omaha Morning World-Herald prints a communication from Jacob Beck, a member of the Farmers' alliance, in which he offers to be one of a number to make up a fund of \$100, to be given for the best essay in answer to the question, "What can the government do to promote the greatest good of the greatest number of people without injustice to any?" He wants the award to be made by a committee of five men "who fear God, love truth and hate covetousness," one of whom shall be a republican, one a democrat, one a greenbacker, one a prohibitionist, and one a nationalist. The essayist who gets the prize from that committee will be a "dandy."

Three years ago the Rev. Dr. Charles M. O'Keeffe, rector of the Catholic church of St. Charles Borromeo, bought sixteen lots of land at the corner of 14th street and Seventh avenue, this city, for \$102,000. He soon built the present brick church, 50 by 100 feet, at a cost of some \$25,000. The community is a growing one, and property has increased very much in value since the parish was formed. Last week Father O'Keeffe sold the church and ground for \$30,000 to a private party, and has the use of the church for one

year. Father O'Keeffe could, if he chose, preach a sermon that would be interesting to listen to. His text could be, "What gave this land its increased value?"

\* \* \*

Any one interested in the sick benefit, funeral aid and death beneficiary associations of the United States can help make the statistics of their organizations for the forthcoming census more complete and disseminate the knowledge of the good work they are doing by sending the names of such societies as they may know of, and the addresses of their principal officers, to Mr. Charles A. Jenney, special agent of the Eleventh census, 58 William street, New York city.

\* \* \*

The New York journeymen cigarmakers are having a hard time of it. Last week three thousand of those who had employment went on strike. This, added to those who were already idle—estimated at between 2,500 and 3,000—will make a total of over 5,500, which is rather more than half of the membership of the ten local unions. That is a dismal showing. The reason for the strikes of last week, is, stated by an officer of one of the unions: "It was better to be idle and starve, than work and starve." The trade has become so demoralized that it is impossible for a married cigarmaker to make living wages through his own efforts, so his family has to help him. The cigarmakers intend to make a struggle for better wages, but the outlook for success is not encouraging. The local unions have tried to reach a better condition by legislation, and taking in all the non-unionists, but have failed. The International union has also legislated, and created an out-of-work fund, with a view to supporting the surplus workers, and thus keep up wages. But how long will any fund for that purpose last a union where over fifty per cent of the members are idle? The situation has become so bad, that the union and non-union cigarmakers are combining—therefore it must be bad indeed. How is this state of affairs to be mended? By more organization? The cigarmakers' union is now so thoroughly organized and disciplined that the rank and file are mere automatons. By strikes? That does not appear to embarrass the employers in the least. All they have to do when they need workers is to hang out a card, and the workers tumble over each other in their efforts to get upstairs to the workroom. Half the city factories, with all the appliances necessary to put from 100 to 1,000 cigar makers at work, have only orders enough to keep from five to thirty men at work, and even these few are not permitted to work full time. One old-established factory in this city, in which three hundred cigar makers used to be employed, has now five men at work five days a week; and these men would not be surprised at any time if their numbers were still further reduced. The present situation does not accord with the assertion made last October by the president of the Cigar makers' international union, that good wages were being earned in the trade. He said this in a speech he was making in opposition to a resolution which, had it passed, would have pledged the convention to a recommendation to congress to abolish the internal revenue on tobacco. That convention was whipped into passing a vote in favor of protection—by a narrow majority, it is true, but it passed. Has protection improved the opportunities for cigar making? Will the increased duty on tobacco called for in the McKinley bill improve the condition of the cigar makers or will it make things worse than they are now? Can anybody suggest anything to lift the cigar makers out of the slough of despond into which they have stumbled?

\* \* \*

"Tis sad! The melancholy tidings comes from Albany via the New York Times that Governor Hill is "sour" on Mr. Dana's Sun; and that he—if information coming from intimate friends of the governor can be relied upon—has been "sour" on the Sun for some time. The governor's plaint is that Mr. Dana's paper, while professing an ardent friendship for him, has been doing him more injury than good. As said above, 'tis sad. It is in order for Mr. Dana, in the privacy of his closet, to remember, "How sharper than a serpent's tooth it is," etc. And while there he can also mourn over the fact that the club he has been using to whack ex-President Cleveland with has been ruthlessly snatched from his grasp at a most inopportune time—for Dana.

IN THE INTEREST OF DOMESTICITY.  
Louisville Courier-Journal.

Mr. McKinley taxes the poor man's plate from motives of strict reform. If poor men's dishes are made more costly, the poor man and his wife will be less likely to throw them at each other's head. Domestic peace, as Mr. McKinley and everybody else knows, is a great blessing, and springs naturally, like all other blessings, from a high war tariff.

#### MAY TAKE POLITICAL ACTION.

THE CENTRAL LABOR UNION CONSIDERING AN UNDERTAKING TO "SMASH ALL THE POLITICAL MACHINES" THIS FALL.

At the meeting of the Central labor union last Sunday the following preamble and resolutions were offered:

Whereas, Under the new election laws of this state, the people are no longer compelled to choose between the candidates of the two political machines under penalty of throwing away their votes, since independent organizations can place candidates before all the voters, without being subjected to an enormous and practically prohibitory expense for printing and distributing tickets; and

Whereas, The existing system of government by bosses through henchmen for the benefit of professional politicians is neither democratic, republican nor just; and

Whereas, It is now possible for men to vote in absolute secrecy for the candidates of their own choice without the fear of intimidation and relieved from the reasonable certainty (that has existed in the past) that they would be outvoted by the hirelings of the bosses; and

Whereas, The great body of the people who earn their living by useful labor have no disposition to grovel before political masters; no money to bribe corrupt officials, even if they were willing to do so, and no time for the impossible task of reforming the machines; and

Whereas, The mass of the people thus situated are necessarily the chief victims of the class of legislation that results from the substitution of corrupt machine rule for true popular government; therefore,

Resolved, That the Central labor union sees in the immediate present a hopeful opportunity for a popular movement to smash all the political machines and to restore to the city of New York a government of the people, by the people and for the people.

Resolved, That a committee of nine members be appointed to consider the most practicable method for accomplishing this result, and report to the Central labor union two weeks hence.

The socialist delegates opposed the resolutions, and declined to serve on the committee, on the ground that considering political action was outside the province of the union. They announced that the socialistic labor party was preparing to look out for the interests of workingmen in that regard. Notwithstanding their objections, however, after a two-hour debate the resolutions were adopted, and a committee appointed, in accordance therewith. They are: Thomas Doyle, M. Hussey, Joseph Timmons, N. P. Mahon, George Hamilton, Charles L. Miller, James McKim, John Adams, J. P. Archibald.

#### MEN HUNGER, WITH FATNESS AROUND THEM.

Arthur Desmond in Sydney Bulletin.

"Lord, how long shall the wicked, how long shall the wicked triumph? They prate and speak arrogantly. Aye, all the workers of iniquity glorify themselves and break in pieces thy people, O Lord. They afflict thine heritage—they slay the widow and the stranger and murder the fatherless."—94th Psalm.]

Men hunger with fatness around them,  
And thirst when the waters flow near,  
For tyrants and rulers have bound them  
And dulled all their senses with fear.

\* \* \* \* \*  
"Go hence from the fields that are waving,  
From the vineyard where ripens the vine;  
Go hence with a stomach that's craving—  
Go hence, for these broad lands ARE MINE!

"Go, slave, to the cities o'ercrowded,  
And starve in this land of 'the free,'  
Till your hunger and rags are enshrouded  
In the land that belongs all to me!

"When you walk in the dust of the highway,  
Your footsteps I claim as my own.  
Go, sneak by the fence and the byway,  
And whine like a cur for a bone.

\* \* \* \* \*  
"But—these rags have a soul that is waking  
And watching the coming of dawn,  
And Freedom the dark cloud is breaking  
With footsteps as light as the fawn."

#### THE PROVINCE OF WISE STATESMANSHIP.

Houston, Texas, Post.

It is the province of the wise statesman not to limit production, not to shackle industry, but to promote it. This can only be done by removing artificial obstacles to interchange of commodities; by making it possible for the Kansas farmer to exchange his corn for woolens, the Texas planter to exchange his cotton for silks, the stockman to exchange his cattle for the products of the mills, and, above all, the making it possible for the workingmen in all trades to exchange their labor and skill for an abundance of life's necessities.

#### A CONSPIRACY AGAINST THE MASSES.

Houston, Texas, Post.

Any scheme to limit production is but a conspiracy against the masses on behalf of the classes, which can only result in greater inequalities, in more beggary, crime and wretchedness.

#### A CONUNDRUM ANSWERED.

Chicago Herald.

Columbia—"Must the very kitchen be invaded by these tariff-tinkering miscreants?"

And Echo answers: "Yes, so long as the republicans can control legislation."

#### IT IS TIRESOME.

Philadelphia Times.

The farmers seem to be getting tired of living on skim milk themselves and being compelled to sell their cream to pay tariff taxes.

#### PERSONAL.

W. L. Crosman of Boston contributes an article to the labor symposium department of the current number of the Typographical Journal (organ of the printers' international union). He declares that in the single tax lies the true solution to the labor problem. All the articles that have appeared in the Journal since the symposium was recommended by the international convention have advocated the same thing.

It is announced from Kansas City that Mr. C. A. Pillsbury, who recently sold a great system of flour mills to an English syndicate, is about to build in Kansas City a set of mills similar to those he has sold, and, in preparation therefor, has already constructed an elevator with a capacity of 1,500,000 bushels.

T. V. Powderly, on Thursday evening last, addressed, in Albany, the largest assemblage of workingmen ever gathered in that city. He expressed his gratification at the passage of the ballot reform bill, and said that he knew of no other measure that was calculated to result in so much benefit to the laboring classes.

The London Star, speaking of the receptions tendered by the mayor of Sydney to Henry George and William O'Connor, the oarsman, on their arrival in that city, complimented Mr. George on his little speech to O'Connor in these words: "Henry, though a prophet, is well known as a genial soul—he is a journalist, and all journalists are at bottom genial; and when his time came made a speech that the best 'sport' could have heartily applauded. It was one long glorification of muscle."

Michael L. Lehmaier of Chicago was in this city last week on business. He speaks glowingly of the progress of the single tax movement in his town. He spent his last evening in town at the rooms of the Manhattan single tax club, and said he would be able to take back home with him pleasant impressions of such of the members as he met.

#### A CLERGYMAN ON GEORGE.

The Rev. J. Auld, in his sermon on the following Sunday morning referred to the presence in Sydney of Mr. George as follows:

Whatever opinions they might entertain regarding Mr. George's theories, they were bound to recognize him as a great Christian philanthropist. I had the pleasure of listening to his address to the members of the general assembly, and Mr. George there gave expression to thoughts that were very beautiful, poetical, and distinctively Christian. His idea of the kingdom of heaven seemed to be that of a perfect society, from which all poverty, inequality and injustice would be banished. It would not be fair to Mr. George to say that he expected such a society to be brought about by means of political economy. The most perfect system of political economy could never rise higher than the utterances of Jesus of Nazareth. Yet political economy may be regarded as a powerful auxiliary to the gospel in completely establishing the kingdom of God among men.

#### RUNNING EIGHT MILES TO SAVE TEN CENTS.

New York Sun.

The passengers on a Broadway car bound down town one night last week were amused at the sight of a youngster of ten years or so dressed in the uniform of a messenger boy trotting alongside the car. The little fellow joined the car at Twenty-third street, and kept company with it every block of the way down to city hall. When the car would stop he would halt, and when the driver would whip up his horses the boy would keep up the pace, too. As the car stopped at Houston street to let off a party, and he had a minute's rest, he explained that he had a messe to deliver uptown, and wanted to save the ten cents which the office gave him for car fare, and yet know that he wasn't losing any time. He said he had trotted all the way up town the same way.

#### A LABOR "JUDAS."

Philadelphia Record.

Mr. James Campbell, the friend and ally of Mr. Bayne, is the labor champion who imported some thirty-odd glassblowers from Scotland, a year or so ago, to compete against American citizens in the works at Jeannette, Pa. He was formerly a democrat, but the benevolencies of tariff legislation in Pittsburgh had no difficulty in converting him into a convenient tool. Like John Jarrett, he was employed in 1888 in canvassing close and doubtful congress districts in the interests of the spoilers. His lying affidavits against Messrs. Bynum of Indiana and Wilson of West Virginia, constitute a part of his infamous service.

#### MISS TENNANT WILL BE HIS LIEUTENANT.

New York World.

Explorer Stanley showed that he was not only willing to die for the woman he loved, but that he could let dye alone if she demanded it.

#### THE PROTECTIVE THEORY.

J. Q. Smith in answer to James G. Blaine's article in the North American Review.

The whole theory of protection is founded on the desire to take one man's money and give it to another who has not earned it.

#### SOCIETY NOTES.

Some pretty conceits and fancies are carried out in gloves, now that ladies have most of them made to order. A certain countess has always a coronet wrought in silk at the top of the arm; another lady recently ordered some white mousquetaire with her Christian name (Dorothy) embroidered across the top in crimson silk, in exact imitation of her signature. Some pretty gloves, designed for wearing with a white-and-silver dress, were of white undressed kid, and were cut out in little turrets at the top, from beneath which fell a frill of silver lace. The lines up the back of the hand were also traced in silver. You have all read and perhaps seen the evening gloves, with the stitching done in gold wire, entangling jewels in its meshes; but the *haute nouveauté* is the seamless glove, which has a most mysterious effect. It clothes the hand like a skin, and only the most minute investigation shows that a seam is concealed in the middle of the hand, but so sewn as to be practically invisible.—[San Francisco Argonaut.

Lowell, Mass., May 20.—Charles Campbell of Bridgewater, aged 25 years, attempted suicide in the Merrimac street railroad station this morning by taking a dose of laudanum. Despondency, as the result of inability to find employment, was given as the cause of the rash act. The unfortunate man was found in a nearly lifeless condition by the station agent. He received medical attendance in season to save his life. He has relatives at Waltham and they were notified.—[Boston Globe.

Armorial bearings are the rage in New York just now. Devices that would put a whole college of heralds into convulsions by violating every rule of heraldry, and which no one can by any possibility interpret, for the very simple reason that they are utterly devoid of meaning, are daily paraded in the park, on carriage doors, and emblazoned on note paper in all the colors of the bow of promise. The idea just now is to have them as large as possible, to the end that they may be seen at a distance, and the greatness of those who bear them recognized. It is noted as a curious and interesting fact that the greater number of these escutcheons, especially the "loud" ones, are borne by people who don't care to speak of their grandparents.—[Exchange.

An Italian woman about thirty-two years old entered the tenement house, 188 Mulberry street, at 12:35 Monday afternoon, and went up stairs. Mrs. Pursell who lives on the top floor saw her go up the steps leading to the roof. She carried on her arm a white knitted shawl, which Mrs. Pursell thought was a piece of washing she was going to hang on the roof to dry. A few minutes later the woman was found in the alley of 190 Mulberry street with her skull fractured. She died where she fell. She had jumped from the roof of No. 188, which is five stories high. She had to get over a two-foot railing to do it. The police made a search of the neighborhood in the hope of learning who she was, but could not. They found on the body \$1.07, a silver thimble, and a rosary.—[New York Sun.

Among the beautiful carafes and decanters intended to hold the sweet wines used at small and earlies and five o'clock teas, there is no form superior in design and beauty of workmanship to the claret jug. The vessel, which is copied from the old Venetian jug, is of cut glass, the lid, handle and lip being of carved gold or sterling, although excellent plate enables the less wealthy housewife to present her old sherry or claret in an equally pretty decanter. The claret jug proper is intended for a claret cup, for which deliciously refreshing beverage the season is almost ripe.—[New York World.

Port Oran, N. J., May 24.—The body of Nancy Ellis, who has been missing since Monday last, has been found in the Morris and Essex canal. She was eighty-one years old and claimed to be the oldest barmaid in the world. She was last employed in the Matthews house in that capacity. She became despondent when the hotel proprietor concluded to displace her as barmaid and engage a man in her place. She wanted to be barmaid until she died, and would not consent to earn her board in the hotel by doing other work. On her disappearance a search for her was made, and her cap was found floating in the canal. The canal was then dragged and the body of the old woman, who undoubtedly committed suicide, was recovered.—[New York Journal.

#### NO SUCH THING AS "OVERPRODUCTION."

Houston, Texas, Post.

There is not, nor has there ever been, such a thing as "overproduction." The fault is not in the flood, but in the impediments that it encounters in its onward march to the sea. When production reaches the limit of human needs and is allowed to flow naturally, there is no danger that it will go beyond, because the incentive will be lacking. Production means effort, and overproduction means effort wasted, labor for the mere sake of exertion, and such is not in harmony with man's nature.

#### THAT'S WHAT.

Carroll Chronicle.

The McKinley bill puts up the tax on students' lamp chimneys from 45 to 450 per cent. The republican party does well to discourage study. He who studies finds out "protection" is a fraud.

## GEORGE IN AUSTRALIA.

## THE AUSTRALIAN PRESS ON THE MAN AND HIS WORK.

FRIENDLY RECEPTIONS IN ALL QUARTERS—  
ALL HIS MEETINGS CROWDED—THE GREAT DEBATE IN MELBOURNE—PROTECTIONISTS CHEERING FREE TRADE.

Mr. George's letter in the last issue of *THE STANDARD* gave a hasty report of his progress in New South Wales and his visit to Melbourne. Australian papers that came to hand by the same mail are filled with reports of his meetings and comments on the principles he advocates. It is absolutely impossible in the narrow limits of *THE STANDARD* to find room for a tenth part of the matter that thus reaches us, but we present herewith a condensation of news items and editorial comments that give a consecutive account of his progress and demonstrate how deeply he has interested the people of all the colonies he has yet visited in the single tax and free trade.

On March 18 Mr. George spoke at Picton, taking for his subject "Labor and the tariff." The *Picton Argus* called his address "Straight talk for protectionists." The audience was very large. Mr. George was enthusiastically received, and his address was liberally punctuated with applause and cheers. Questions were asked and answered.

Mr. George spoke at Goldburn on March 20. The *Penny Post*, in announcing the event, says:

He has brought us face to face with the clearest and most sharply carved issue that ever inspired the friend of oppressed humanity. It is to the industrial slave of our inverted civilization what the battle cry of Clarkson and Wilberforce was to the West Indian slaves, or that of William Lloyd Garrison to the negro chattels of the southern states of the republic. It is the battle cry of liberty to the captive and emancipation to the oppressed. Just now, as might naturally be expected, Mr. George and the principles he has come to expound are subjected to a convergent fire of criticism; but there is absolutely nothing new advanced—noting that was not foreseen and answered in "Progress and Poverty." The central contentions are untouched. Where the scientific attack of the duke of Argyll and the ponderous onslaught of the British economists left the citadel unharmed, it is not very probable that the peau-squirts of Mr. Dibbs or the windy elaborations of Mr. Copeland will have much effect. Ten years of criticism, such as no volume ever underwent before—ten years of analysis at the hands of men of keenly analytic mind, prompted by all the force of professional jealousy, or impelled by the stimulus of personal interest—have practically decided the question that "Progress and Poverty" is unanswerable. What Henry George has done has been to carry into economics the same spirit of analysis that Bacon carried into philosophy and Newton into astronomy.

On March 21 Mr. George spoke at Lithgow on the single tax. The *Mercury* says regarding it:

No political lecture ever before delivered in Lithgow, and to which a charge was made for admission, drew together an audience so large, enthusiastic and intelligent. That, of course, is attributable as much to the man as to his subject. For though the subject is of supreme interest, the interest attaching to the man himself is in no way less. In the ideas of many thousands of intelligent men in every part of the world, Henry George represents the highest type of mind which the present generation furnishes. His extraordinary career—extending from the lowest rung of the social ladder to the topmost pinnacle of fame—has in itself an additional element of fascination. But the secret of his great hold on the people lies in his sympathy with the masses—with their sufferings, their poverty and their wrongs. He believes that he has discovered a great economic truth; a panacea for much of the involuntary poverty that now afflicts so many; a remedy for those conditions which are everywhere producing the same inequalities in the distribution of wealth; a remedy that will reverse the order of things from which arise, on one side, great wealth, and on the other, extreme poverty.

The *Cootamundra, N. S. W., Herald* of Wednesday, March 26, says that on the previous Friday Mr. George lectured in Assembly hall on the single tax theory to a large, intelligent and highly appreciative audience. In the absence of the mayor Alderman Pinkstone presided, and in introducing the speaker said that, though not going the whole length with Mr. George, he was disposed to support him in advocating the substitution of direct for indirect taxation. Mr. George was warmly greeted as he came forward, and his address was frequently interrupted by applause.

At the close the usual vote of thanks to the protectionists, who had stolen the seats in the

reserved section of the hall. He said he would devote himself exclusively to the protective tariff in another lecture. But what he wanted to speak on was the reason why wages were low in the United States. It was stated that there were a million men idle in the United States to-day. To-day men were cultivating virgin soil in the new states of America, and paying for the privilege one-fifth, one-fourth, and even one-third of their crop. The men who would expend their labor in producing wealth directly were forced back to compete with other men in the same condition for the wages of some employer. In the United States they had been doing as the people had been doing here—allowing English lords and earls and English dukes and capitalists to get possession of great tracts of land. They did not propose to live on it and work it. They wanted the income, and that could only come from labor. What had been sold to them was not land, but the power of command....

The easy way to end it all was that of the single tax, leaving the land owners to own their land, and taxing the land value—that value which increased whether the owner of the land worked or was idle, whether he were here or far away, whether he were wise man or a lunatic. The moment it was proposed to take land there came up the idea of compensation. They were accustomed, when land was taken for public purposes, to compensate the owner, and justly so when only a piece here or there was taken. But no one ever heard of compensation for a tax. It was not proposed here to take anything from the landowners. They were not to be asked to pay back what they had obtained in the past, but merely for the future that the income derived from the public growth should be taken for public needs. Land values were increased by the growth of the community. If the people were to leave, letting the land owners only remain, how much would London or New York be worth? The single tax had the enormous advantage that it could be brought into operation step by step, and each step would make the next easier. Little questions would arise as to how this or that man would be affected, but it would be for the general prosperity, and would enormously increase the production of wealth, secure justice in its distribution, lessen the complexity of government, do away with temptations to corruption, and prevent that speculation in land which everywhere was constricting industry. If he and those who thought with him were right, this reform meant the abolition of involuntary poverty. If they were right, this reform would give to everyone who wanted work the opportunity of working. If they were right, this reform would not merely prevent physical suffering but would prevent the moral degradation that was inevitable under the present system.

He said it was thirty-five years since he first put foot in Melbourne. He had a vivid recollection of Melbourne of that time—its busy streets, its seemingly continuous auctions, its crowds of men with flannel shirts and long, high boots, its bay crowded with ships, and the many things that were of interest and of pleasure to him. Then a boy, he now came back a man on the shady side of fifty. Thirty-five years, though a long time in the span allotted to us individually, was but a short time in the history of a community. But what a wondrous change! These great buildings, these well-kept streets, the evidences of a large population and of accumulating wealth on every hand, showed how this city had grown in thirty five years, and great as had been its growth, it was but the promise for the future. But already there were in Melbourne mutterings of the unemployed; already the citizens of Melbourne could feel that this steady advance had not been an advance in the condition of all. To the man from the new country; to the man who had grown up in Australia, New Zealand or California, there were sights in the great cities of the old world that shocked. He well remembered how, when he first went to New York, he realized that monstrous division—an abundance on one side, want and degradation on the other. And London, still larger, was worse than New York. There was a dark side to all our growth; there was a shadow which accompanied all our advances. We built new cities, we opened new railways, we multiplied inventions, and yet our progress was not progress for all. While some increased their power of obtaining all that the highest civilization could give, on the other side were those whom our advances seemed to crush down lower. There was a question of all questions that beset the civilized world to-day. There was a riddle which the sphinx of our time put to our civilization, which not to answer was to be destroyed. (Applause.) Let them make no mistake. No thoughtful man could go through the streets of London, or even of New York, and not feel that in its present directions the progress was a progress that must end in destruction. It was utterly impossible that we should go on building almshouses as we build churches; utterly impossible that the gulf between the rich and the poor should steadily widen, and yet that civilization should be preserved.

After explaining the single tax to his audience, and the benefits it would confer on humanity, Mr. George paid his respects to the protective tariff in such a manner as to draw enthusiastic cheers even from the protectionists, who had stolen the seats in the

rival there on the previous day by a committee headed by M. D. Badger and a number of members of the local single tax club, who presented the following resolution, adopted at a public meeting held previously:

That this meeting, in order to show its appreciation of Mr. Henry George's labors on behalf of down-trodden humanity all over the world, and to recognize his philanthropic endeavors to abolish poverty, tenders him a hearty welcome to Echuca.

In the evening at Temperance hall Mr. George addressed a large and appreciative audience. The mayor presided, and introduced the speaker with some kindly but non-committal remarks. Mr. George was received with applause and frequently interrupted with cheers. On motion of Rev. Mr. Badger it was resolved:

That the best thanks of this meeting are due and are given to our distinguished visitor for his able lecture.

The *Riverine Herald* editorially indorsed Mr. George's denunciation of the taxation of improvements, and thus closes its article:

It is clearly evident that the municipal law wants amendment, and that, if men desire to keep land for the sake of its "unearned increment," they should be put on a level with the property holder, and made to pay in just proportion their fair share of the cost of maintaining the municipality. In this way we might put in application, to some extent, the Georgian scheme of taxing the lands rather than the improvements, and the law might be altered by which municipalities would have a shorter and surer method of recovering rates, from absent owners of occupied lands, or else the equivalent.

On Monday evening, April 7, Mr. George debated "Free Trade Versus Protection" with Mr. W. Trenwith, M. L. A., in the large hall of the Exhibition building, Melbourne. Over 3,000 people were packed into the auditorium. A reading of the verbatim report of the address in the *Argus* would indicate that Mr. George completely vanquished Mr. Trenwith, despite the fact that when the debate began the protectionists were in a large majority, but its editorial sings a different song.

The editorial comments of the papers on the following day are interesting, and an idea of who was the victor can better be reached by reading the paragraphs below:

The discussion was interesting, but at the same time disappointing in many respects. In part this result was inevitable, for it was out of the question that a subject which has occupied the attention of mankind for many generations, and has given rise to a whole library of literature, could be compassed in the course of a two hours' debate. Mr. Trenwith certainly endeavored more than once to bring his opponent to a grip, but Mr. George persistently refused to deal with definite issues. His speeches were for the most part rhetorical displays rather than challenges or replies to debate. When Mr. George did deal with the challenges thrown down by his opponent, he more than once took unfair advantage. As an example of this, let us refer to Mr. Trenwith's argument in regard to the unnecessary handling and shipment of goods. Mr. Trenwith simply pointed out that this meant enhanced cost to the consumer, and was therefore to be avoided as far as possible. Mr. George at once pressed this argument to its "logical conclusion," as he was pleased to phrase it. This, he said, was that protection would carry away with all carriage whatsoever, and with all interchange of commodities. "Be logical," he said, appealing to the protection of Victoria, "and break down the expensive railway system you have constructed, and smash every tramway car in your streets." Here again rhetorical art scored a trick, and the audience actually cheered this thinly veiled clap-trap.

At the same time, it must be admitted that Mr. Trenwith, in illustrating this argument of unnecessary carriage, was unwise in selecting the article of tea. Tea is one of those commodities that is for obvious reasons outside the pale of protection, and as the argument developed, the audience were clearly following it hesitatingly and sceptically. The tardy explanation that the arguments that applied to tea applied to all other commodities came rather late to fully repair this tactical blunder. Mr. George took full opportunity of his opponent's maladroitness, and his scathing reference to Victorian farmers growing their own tea once again brought down the house. One other instance of Mr. George's irrelevant replies will suffice. Mr. Trenwith suggested the point that we protect ourselves against small pox. True, answered Mr. George, and also against leprosy and every other pestilence. But what does the Victorian tariff shut out? he went on to ask. Commodities of all kinds, goods we want, goods we require, the best gifts Providence has bestowed on mankind—and here his answer stopped amid tumultuous applause. But Mr. George avoided the point clearly placed before him only a few minutes before, that protection really excludes starvation wages and a low standard of living. If Victorian workmen are to compete on even terms with pittance-earning German Jews or Chinamen, or even with their British brethren, we must inevitably step down to

No one will question the manliness of Mr. Henry George in boldly facing a Melbourne audience and attacking their favorite doctrine of protection not only with the arms of logic, but of withering scorn; and the fact that he not only carried with him the forbearance, but continuous and enthusiastic applause of an immense audience, is more than anything a testimony to the public admiration of genuine pluck.

All the same, it is rather a misfortune to Mr. George, in the advocacy of his greater and more distinguishing theory, that it was of necessity for him to seek to clear out of his way a policy to which Victoria is wedded, and to which the great body of our people attribute the great and exceptional prosperity which Victoria enjoys.

But it was a necessity, and Mr. George has faced it right bravely; though that he has cleared the ground of that which he regards as a noxious weed, in order to plant there the doctrine of a "single tax," will not be generally admitted by those who weigh his arguments with fairness.

Mr. George speaks of our protection as a one horse affair, and we freely admit the comparative insignificance of Victoria as beside any of the great states, or even some of the big cities of the United States; but, all the same, it is our very own, and we like it as such; and we think that it will take more than the arguments of Mr. George last night to shake its hold on the popular mind. \* \* \*

Probably few protectionists in Victoria, and fewer still of fair thinking men, doubt that in theory free trade is just and honest, and to be generally adopted as a principle in commerce; but our proposition is that there are exceptional cases when, for particular, and it may be temporary, objects, free trade must be suspended.

Be it so that we all have to pay more. Still we are content if it only give more general employment, and people who are employed and earning something can pay more easily even a big price than those who are idle and earning nothing.

That is, simply put, our reason for making free trade step aside for a little, and ourselves consenting to pay higher prices for things, in the hope that ultimately we shall have our own manufactures, and have them cheap, too.

The *Riverine Herald* of Hobart of April 8 says that Mr. George was greeted on his ar-

the level of their daily life. By Mr. George's theory no new country could ever get a start, not merely in the manufacture of goods, but also in the growing of cereals or other staple crops. Mr. Trenwith last night had a long way the best of the argument when he contended that protection, so far from fostering, really serves to break up monopolies.—*Melbourne Age*.

As regards the men, the battle was all in Mr. Trenwith's favor. His opponent might cry, "No victory to conquer such a foe!" George cannot display Trenwith's scalp in London or New York, for those great cities know not him of the Trades hall. For Trenwith's defeat did not involve disgrace, and he entered the lists assured that thousands would hail him victor, chance what might. But his friends, the Victorian workingmen who believed in protection, religiously abstained from attending. Perchance they were admiring the Bijou, perchance they were weighing the relative virtues of beer, colonial and English. They were not in the concert room to support their champion. We hold this abstention of the Victorian protectionist of the working class to have been unfortunate. His allies, wearing black coats and white waistcoats, crossed by heavy chains, presumably of gold, were there, and were a trifle—only a trifle—noisy. But as Mr. Trenwith was quite unexpectedly weak, as he left unsaid most of the things which he should have said, and said most of the things which he ought not to have said, it would have been well if stentorian cheers had covered his passage over cat's ice. Mr. Trenwith's talk about "the tea" referred to in George's book was marvelously unhappy. The tea supposed to pass through the hands of a preposterous number of middlemen before reaching the consumer became a sort of *X* in the hands of Mr. Trenwith. *X* is surely better produced here than away in Asia or Europe, and brought here through the hands of twelve greedy middlemen. Just so; but the middlemen existing, and each of them demanding a profit, why demand protection? Are not eleven of these twelve profits enough? If our workingman says "No," those who listen are apt to apostrophize him disrespectfully.

The debate really cannot be considered seriously. Trenwith never rose to George's height. In plain English, the local man was utterly lost.—*[Melbourne Telegraph]*

Mr. Trenwith is a local champion, who has made his mark, and has many followers. Mr. George's fame is world wide; and to see the world's champion of free trade and the single tax tackled in the very stronghold of protecting tariffs had to many a deeper interest than the braying of brass bands and the fluttering of banners, and all the varied delights of *al fresco* enjoyment. Mr. George rested his arguments on the general and ultimate benefits of free trade, Mr. Trenwith on the local and, maybe, temporary application of protection and the good it has done.

They are both right; and a drawn game was the proper and natural conclusion.

That protection raises the price, that is, the cost of production, is the very reason of its being; for if it did not, then it could not possibly stimulate production; and when it has ceased to do so, and articles are obtained in the local market as cheaply as they could be procured from abroad—which, as Mr. Trenwith correctly maintained, is the ultimate result of protection—then its necessity has ceased.

No one ought to doubt that free trade, as a universal principle, is the correct and just and defensible one. When protection to industries should cease, and they should be allowed to face the free trade competition of the world, is a matter of calculation and adjustment, though it must be owned that protection involves this one evil, that vested interests growing up along with it present an almost impregnable resistance to the change.—*[Melbourne Evening Standard]*

Mr. Henry George's adventurous crusade brought him last night into a conflict with an accredited champion of protection, who had all the confidence of feeling that the majority of the working classes in this colony are upon his side, who was ready with a sheaf of illustrations and figures drawn from our local history, and was as agile in evading the general principles laid down by his opponent as a modern prize fighter in avoiding injury. Men leant over from the galleries to catch every word that fell from both speakers. Down below were hundreds whose grizzled beards and deeply lined faces betokened that they had been through the long war of free trade against protection, which once convulsed Victoria. Mr. George was earnest, pointed, sarcastic, declamatory, and stood up as the preacher of a new gospel. Mr. Trenwith announced that he had a higher authority than parliament or any other institution for his utterances—the authority of the Trades hall council. "We protect ourselves," he cried wrathfully in answer to a taunt flung by his opponent; "we compel the members of parliament, who are our servants, to pass protective legislation." After a few words from the chairman, Mr. George rose to open the debate. He declared vehemently that the road of industrial emancipation must be the road of freedom. How, he asked scuriously, could protection benefit a community and raise the rate of wages? The tendency of protection must be, on the one hand, to lower the wages by increasing

sary to life; and, on the other, to add to the profits of the employers who are enabled to get control of the local market. Protection means monopoly, and monopoly low wages.

An air of expectancy came over the audience when Mr. Trenwith sprang to his feet to accept the challenge of his famous antagonist. People were wondering whether he would discuss the subject on broad grounds. He announced that he would adduce facts, but whenever he worked up to a fact or an assertion, he turned his back upon the hearers and buried it straight at the head of Mr. George, as if he expected to turn the champion of free trade into stone on the spot. But no sooner was Mr. Trenwith fairly underway than it became evident that the antagonists were fighting widely of the mark. Mr. George had begun with enunciating general principles. His opponent, on the contrary, had been stewing his mind in Victorian Hansards and old trades union reports and all the history of the protectionist struggle in this colony from the year 1857 onward. Victoria has been protectionist and prosperous; therefore, protection is the infallible panacea for happiness. That was the gist of the argument. It was, of course, expanded into the statement that protection actually cheapens the price of commodities, at which good old stock declaration of the Trades hall a large portion of the audience had the temerity to laugh. But Mr. Trenwith had an illustration. Twenty years ago there were no three-penny cigars, and the cheapest brand was so utterly bad that nobody with any respect for the weed could smoke them. Now, young Victoria under the protective system is revelling in magnificent cigars at five a shilling. Mr. Trenwith harped on the cigar argument so long that one began almost to think he had placed the whole fabric of protection upon a cigar box.

Then Mr. George stated that the protective duty fell with crushing severity upon the consumers of cheap tobacco. One of the most expensive cigars costs about 7½d. when it is manufactured, whereas the cheap grades can be sold at 1s. a thousand. As both pay the same duty, it follows that the "poor man," as he was styled during the debate, pays infinitely more in proportion than his wealthier brother. Challenged to prove that protection had ever injured a nation, Mr. George rose to the highest flight of eloquence which marked the debate. You talk of cheapness, he said in effect. Are the goods, then, as cheap as they would be without a duty at all? Why then should there be drawbacks allowed to the exporter, and why should men and women peril their reputations by smuggling? Then came a picture of the ultimate of protection—how traffic should cease, railways be abolished, and steamships dismantled, and how each man would grow his own wool and make his own clothes, and even pull out his own teeth. As for the positive injuries of protection, it had ruined Spain, hampered England, and destroyed the commerce of the United States.

Mr. Trenwith was prepared to be logical. He announced seriously that he saw no loss to the United States in the fact that its flag had almost been swept from the seas. He is prepared to admit that ships and horses and carts and railways are but necessary nuisances at best, and that it would be far better for the people of each locality to make every article for themselves, and have as little transport as possible. Of course, Mr. Trenwith did not take into account the main point, that the Americans use ships as much as ever, with the difference that the cargoes are carried under foreign flags. This would rather have bent the world's rigidity of his logic. There is not much gain in breaking up your own ships or carts simply that you may afterward employ those of somebody else. But even Mr. Trenwith's disregard of consequences failed him when Mr. George pictured the complete isolation, the utter desolation, the helplessness and weariness of a thoroughly consistent system of protection. He accused Mr. George of unfairness, talked of the "tricks of the platform," and declared that his words were "perverted." But the audience would have no personal invective. There were movements and signs of disfavor from all parts of the hall. The right of fair debate prevailed, and the discussion continued on its even course.

But the episode brought out from Mr. Trenwith an interesting definition of what he means by protection. Protective duties should only be imposed upon goods which can be made here with the same "facility" with which they can be manufactured elsewhere. As a protectionist he would admit commodities duty free if they could be better made a thousand miles away. The position is curious. What is meant by "a great facility," and who is to decide what it means? Are all things that are not grown or manufactured in the colony to be admitted duty free? Does not Mr. Trenwith vote for duties upon the stock and other natural products of New South Wales, even when this colony does not seem to have the "facility" to provide them in sufficient quantity?

In his comparison between Victoria and New South Wales Mr. Trenwith was at fault. He carefully announced and repeated, and dwelt upon the statement with obvious satisfaction, that there are more depositors in the savings banks here than there are across the border. It was painfully extracted from him by the slow and steady pressure of the audience that the amount of money saved in

New South Wales was about equal to the savings of Victoria. But this was a side argument. The main contention was that protection is necessary to save the bootmaker from that bugbear of a German. We are assured by Mr. Trenwith that if free trade were established wages here would fall to the same level. It is rather astonishing that the Sydney bootmaker earns high wages despite both Germans and French.

Mr. George's principal argument, so far as protection in Victoria is concerned, was that we obviously owe our prosperity to other causes. We have borrowed money largely; we have spent it on railways and irrigation works; we have been working hard to provide for the transport of our products. This is the true cause of our present prosperity. To develop our commercial system, to buy with our products the commodities that we require in the great markets of the world, would be permanent prosperity. And Mr. George fairly brought down the house by declaring with passionate emphasis that the interests of labor lie not in protection and the isolation of peoples, but in the union of nations. For a moment, until Mr. Trenwith rose, the sentiment drowned all thought even of the Chinese.

The debate was good tempered, interesting, animated. Mr. Trenwith parried with skill. Mr. George spoke with an eloquence that is rarely heard in these platform discussions. Scornful and appealing by turns, his declamation held even the people who might not follow his arguments.—*[Melbourne Argus]*

The Adelaide Register of South Australia considers that Mr. George's visit to Australia is "an event of more than ordinary significance." While it is opposed to his doctrines, the Register hopes that Mr. George "will visit South Australia, and gratify large audiences here, as he has in other places, by his eloquence and his evident grasp of the land question."

The Australian Independent of Sydney says:

We are glad to see that New South Wales has given, by the voice of the metropolis, so hearty a welcome to Henry George. Whether we agree or differ with the views associated with his name, there can be but one judgment on the part of those who have read his books, in regard to the man himself. The words of the dedication of his great work, "Progress and Poverty," supply the keynote of his mission, and help to explain the extraordinary influence of his propaganda. "To those, who, seeing the vice and misery that spring from the unequal distribution of wealth and privilege, feel the possibility of a higher social state, and would strive for its attainment." There are few persons who will not feel themselves in accord with such an appeal as this. And certainly there is nothing in the book itself that is discordant with its dedication. Whether he has found a new remedy, or rather re-discovered an old remedy—for our social ills is a question on which much will be said on both sides—we are by no means disposed to shirk the great social question in these pages. No solution of these social disorders can be found which does not rest upon the basis of Christian principle. And for that reason none should take a deeper interest in these questions than Christian men. We were glad to see that the deacons of Pitt street church did so graceful and so useful a thing as to throw open our mother church to Australia's distinguished guest. We have no doubt that the fact will become memorable in the history of Pitt street church. There was nothing in it to conflict with the traditions of a church which has always been a center of "light and leading" in the intellectual and religious progress of Australia.

In the same copy of the Independent, from which the above is taken, appears a picture of Mr. George, with a brief sketch of his life, evidently condensed from a series of articles on the same subject printed in the New York Truth in 1881.

The Australian National Times of Sydney announces the single tax doctrine briefly, as follows:

The single tax principle affirms the desirability of giving to each man that which he individually earns; and of taking for the use of the community that which is produced by the community; and further affirms that the best and simplest way of effecting this is to levy taxation solely upon the unimproved value of the lands of the community. This is direct taxation in its very simplest form.

In commenting on the protectionists and free traders, so-called, of New South Wales, it says:

Both the protectionists and the so-called free traders have, for a long while, been claiming to be especially and peculiarly the friends of "the farmer" and "the workingman." Each party has claimed this distinction for itself; and each has strenuously denied the other party's claim. Each party has, apparently, shuffled or coquettishly a bit with the question of land nationalization, or, as it is now better known, the "single tax"; but neither party has yet had the courage to openly and definitely declare itself either for or against that principle.

The effect of this attitude on the part of these two great parties is, that several un-

thinking people—or, more correctly speaking, many people who think, but not sufficiently deeply and clearly—seem to have the idea that there is no reason why a man should not be a protectionist and a single tax man at the same time.

Then, after showing that it is impossible for a man to be a single tax man and protectionist together, the Times goes on to say:

We have now in our midst the man who first made plain to the world at large the inherent justice of the single tax principle; the man who of all the men of this age, has done most to popularize that principle, and to point out the fallacies of "protection"—we refer to Henry George. The wise will hear him, even if they do not agree with his ideas; the fools will think that they know more than Henry George can teach them, and therefore they will probably stay away.

But the Newcastle Standard, speaking editorially of Mr. George, after his lecture there, says:

The prophet of the single tax and of other alleged reforms has come and gone. It is not saying too much to assert that he has left a very favorable impression behind him as a public speaker. Among the ranks of his admirers in Newcastle he will be regarded as the reformer par excellence of the present day. Would that it were as easy to put all his beautiful theories into practice as it is for him to promulgate them. No one could hear his eloquent and graphic denunciations last night of the miseries under which the poor and needy in all lands are groaning at the present day without emotion. Some of his word painting was of a very high order and well calculated to stir the hearts of his hearers. The frequent bursts of applause which greeted his remarks proved the interest his hearers were taking in his address. Unfortunately, however eloquent and pathetic his utterances were at times, yet they revealed nothing new. We all know that the wretchedness of the poor in our boasted centers of Christian civilization, and the vice and sorrow that attend it, have been the theme of orators from the days of Paul. Nearly two thousand years have passed since then, and Christianity has permeated nearly the whole world with more or less force, but the squalor, wretchedness, starvation, rags, dirt and other miseries still haunt the slums of our grandest cities, and often rudely jostle or run side by side with untold wealth and luxurious gilded ease.

Mr. George attributes, in a great measure, the failure of the mission of Christianity to the wrongfull distribution of land. God, he said, has given us abundance, enough and to spare for all; but in our ignorance and in our greed, what He gave for all we ourselves have made the property of only a few. We have even disinherited the little children that He has sent into the world of their rightful share of the earth's surface. All this is, undoubtedly, true. We all know that since the days of Abraham and Lot there has been trouble over the distribution of land. Unhappily, men in these days are not so indifferent as to the possession of land as Abraham appears to have been. The "land grabber" is now a familiar and too often honored member of society. The land that should bring forth the fruits of the earth is too often locked up for avaricious purposes. We quite agree with Mr. George that all this should be knocked on the head, but is it possible to do this by adopting the single tax?

It thinks not.

The Morning Herald and Miners' Advocate of Newcastle speaks of Mr. George and his lecture in about the same vein.

An advertiser in the Sydney Daily Telegraph has taken advantage of the sensation created by Mr. George's visit to Australia to attract attention to his wares thus, while at the same time he lampoons those who have attempted to stand up against the arguments advanced in behalf of the single tax:

#### IS HENRY GEORGE DEAD?

#### WILL MELVILLE HAVE THE JOB?

#### Who Killed Henry George?

I did, said Salomons; with my misquotations and misstatements, with my jeers and my sneers and my primrose kid pallaver! Dash my wig, I killed Henry George.

#### Who Killed Henry George?

I did, said Henry Copeland; with my Irish bulls I tossed him sky high, with my illogical shillalah I pounded him, with a page of John Stuart Mill I wiped him out. By St. Patrick, I killed Henry George!

#### Who Killed Henry George?

I did, said Ninian Melville; with my bounce and my big blow and my challenge, I killed Henry George!

And yet rumor saith that Henry George is still alive and eateth Arnott's Milk Arrowroot Biscuits and that Ninian waiteth vainly to bury him!—[Advt.]

There is no doubt of the sensation that has been created in Australia by the visit of Mr. George. Bundles of papers of every kind and description are streaming into this office filled with matter of all sorts concerning Mr. George. The illustrated papers have his pictures, the comic papers caricature him. Every bit of news concerning him, truthful and otherwise, is eagerly seized and displayed before the Australian people.

## THE SOCIAL PROBLEM.

## FREE VACANT LAND.

"Herbert Spencer and the Land Question" is the title of a short article by Walter T. Wells in the May issue of the New Ideal. Mr. Wells thinks Mr. Spencer's recent letter on the land question of special interest to the advocates of free vacant land. He asserts, what is now pretty well known, that Mr. Spencer has not changed his early views on the land question, including, of course, the central idea that there can be no right of private property in land. Mr. Wells is a little surprised that Mr. Spencer sees no alternative to private ownership except nationalization, but explains that Mr. Spencer has, perhaps, been too busy finishing his "Principles of Sociology" to give the question the thought that it demanded. The logic of Mr. Spencer's general position is shown, thinks Mr. Wells, by his striking analogy between land and air, wherein the philosopher shows that they are equally improper objects of private ownership. Mr. Wells premises that if it is true that the state of Texas has enough land for all the inhabitants of the earth, then land is practically as unlimited as air. He also suggests that men will one day be wise enough to cease monopolizing land.

Mr. Wells believes, however, that such a condition cannot be brought about by either force or legislation. It must be reached through conscience and the fear of public sentiment. He thinks, too, that when men recognize that land should be owned by neither individuals nor society at large, and realize that occupancy and use constitute the only valid land title, the question of compensation, which so troubles Mr. Spencer, becomes easier. Mr. Wells believes that those who have paid for vacant land will have no very large claim for compensation. The original cost, plus improvement, is all that they can claim, since they have not produced the unearned increment, and, according to Mr. Wells's view, interest is only what A exacts from B because of B's helplessness. Interest and unearned increment left out, the claim for original cost and improvements is trifling, since these factors are of small account as regards most vacant land. It becomes then a question to be decided by the individuals concerned. Will one man's conscience permit him to take from his fellows a price for land that he cannot use? Will a man pay for land when equally good land is free?

## MR. McCARTHY ON THE LAND PURCHASE BILL.

Justin McCarthy talks about Mr. Balfour's land purchase bill in the May issue of the Contemporary Review. It is Mr. McCarthy's opinion that the more the public examines the bill the less the public will like it. He conjectures that Mr. Goschen had a hand in preparing the measure. Mr. McCarthy fancies Mr. Goschen trying to devise a scheme by which everybody should dance and nobody pay the piper. The plain-minded man must conclude, however, that with £33,000,000 to be raised the British taxpayer's credit must be mortgaged.

According to Mr. McCarthy, the bill, stripped of its details, plainly means to enable some of the most unsuccessful and unpopular Irish landlords to get for their land a higher price than they could get in the open market. He suggests that it leaves open the door to collusion between landlord and tenant, in spite of the provision against collusion. On learning that sale was not compulsory upon the landlord, Mr. McCarthy lost all interest in the measure. He ridicules the idea of a land department, though he believes it to be one of the two real objects of the bill. A department means patronage under the castle government. He expects nothing from the clauses of the bill dealing with the congested districts. The tenant's appeal to the land department might be followed by a refusal of the landlord to sell. The bill seems ingeniously devised to put the tenant at the mercy of the landlord. It will create two classes of tenants in Ireland, one holding under government, the other holding under landlords, and subject to their whims. A really good land bill for Ireland must start out with the idea of making a great change. The law, not the landlord, must rule.

Mr. McCarthy believes that for the sake of settling the Irish land question the British tax payers would risk much, but he has no idea that they will care to risk anything for this bill. It is repudiated by those who speak for the great majority of the Irish people; it is not accepted unanimously by the landlord class. The measure will not settle the Irish land question. According to Mr. Parnell it will buy out one landlord in nine, and mostly those having least claim to aid; it will "buy in" one tenant in four, and mostly the tenants that have least claim to such consider-

ation. He cites the Irish revenues to be seized for the payment of unpaid instalments of purchase money. This sum is made up from the income designed to maintain madhouses, pay schoolmasters and the like. Mr. McCarthy wonders whether lunatics will be turned out and schoolmasters go unpaid in order that the payments to landlords shall go on. Of course nothing of the kind would be done. The government would fall back on the British taxpayer. The system would benefit one tenant in four. Of course, the other three would agitate for like benefits. Can Dublin castle guarantee the Irish local funds for this purpose? A coercion government can offer nothing in the name of the Irish people. Its only method of promoting land purchases will be more coercion. Mr. Balfour answering for Ireland is like Gessler answering for Switzerland, and the British taxpayer who believes in such assurances deserves to have to pay for his credulity. Mr. Balfour's denunciation of the home rule opposition to the bill as dishonest has merely made his position worse. Did anyone ever hear of a great national agitation carried to success by men who only get a living by it? Mr. McCarthy offers to name a long list of men who have lost by their devotion to home rule. He closes with another warning to the British taxpayer.

## EMIGRATION AND IMMIGRATION.

Edward Everett Hale now and then catches glimpses of economic truth that make one wonder why he accepts so much error. His discussion in the June issue of the Cosmopolitan is upon emigration and immigration. These are his twin cures for the race problem in the south. Dr. Hale is persuaded that this is the divine method of strengthening weak and civilizing savage states. He believes that an immediate emigration of 5,000 negroes from North Carolina would teach the whites of that state the value of labor, and bring about fair treatment of the negroes left behind. But somebody must arrange for these negroes to emigrate in considerable bodies in order that no one shall die of homesickness in the new paradise.

Then Dr. Hale gives us a glimpse of the truth. He affirms in effect that we shall not have given the negro freedom until we shall have made it possible for him to occupy land without paying tribute to a landlord. Dr. Hale would have him own the land he lives on. Emigration, he hopes, will bring this about.

Dr. Hale thinks that the south needs immigration as well as emigration. But he does not expect the individual farmer in Nova Scotia or New England to immigrate to Georgia. There must be some concert of effort to bring about immigration of farmers in large bodies so that they shall carry with them their home environment and not be lonely in an alien atmosphere. Dr. Hale does not look kindly upon men and syndicates owning 5,000 acres of lands, and is anxious to promote immigration. He thinks that the immigrants may reasonably ask for a share of the profits arising from an enterprise in which they take most of the risk. On the whole, Dr. Hale believes that the system by which New England colonized Kansas might wisely be applied to the south.

## A LAND TAX FOR IRELAND.

Michael Davitt discusses Mr. Balfour's land purchase bill in the May issue of the Nineteenth Century. Mr. Davitt is somewhat surprised that some Irish landlords dislike the bill and for their sake is half inclined to favor the measure. However, he does not yield to this natural temptation, but proceeds to examine the particulars. He objects to disposing of Irish land by the machinery of an unrepresentative land department, and to turning tenants into occupying proprietors at the risk of the state. He believes that public opinion in Great Britain and Ireland will pronounce against both these things at no distant day. Landlordism by great estates of small cannot long survive. Individual against public right in land values cannot stand against the present movement in Ireland against the class ownership of land.

Mr. Davitt is filled with suspicion at the close relation between the £30,000,000 worth of mortgaged Irish land now locked up in the landed estates court and the sum of £33,000,000 which figures in Mr. Balfour's land purchase scheme. These estates have rarely had a purchaser at public auction, and it looks as if the English tax payer would be asked to pay for them more than the market rates in order that mortgage holders may be reimbursed. He wonders what will happen to schools and other Irish institutions when their incomes shall be devoted to paying unpaid instalments to landlords on mortgages, in accordance with Mr. Balfour's plan.

Mr. Davitt then shows the close likeness between the pending bill and the measure proposed by the land league in 1890. He

criticises both as offering the landlords too much. He never assented to the plan of 1880, as he did not believe in transferring Irish land from one set of bankrupt landlords to another set who, within the next half century, would become as grasping and arrogant masters of Irish land as their predecessors. He notes Mr. Griffin's proposition of 1886, which proposed in effect the buying out of Irish landlords and the support of Irish local government by a tax on land values. This was approved at the time by a great variety of persons.

Mr. Balfour declared in 1885 that land was an almost unsalable commodity, and Mr. Davitt declares it less salable now than then. He believes that the object of the bill is to enable those owning this almost unsalable commodity or holding mortgages upon it to get forty or fifty per cent more for it than they could obtain in the open market. No burden should be imposed upon such a country as Ireland that she cannot bear. If such a burden be imposed her leaders may be forced to organize a revolt against it. Mr. Davitt believes that a land department with strong landlord representation will deal tenderly with the landlords. He notes, too, the decline in the price of Irish agricultural products as a danger to any scheme of land purchase, since it will leave the farmers unable to pay their obligations. It has been estimated that \$160,000,000 of debt hangs over Irish land.

There is but one safe way out of the difficulty, says Mr. Davitt, and that is to give Irish land into the care of some representative national authority and let it maintain public works by a land tax. Buy out the landlords with consols and pay the interest on such consols with Ireland's present contributions to the imperial treasury. After that Mr. Davitt would have county councils deal with the congested districts.

## BALLOT REFORM.

## THE NEW JERSEY LAW.

The new system of ballot reform that is to prevail in New Jersey hereafter was practically placed on the statute books May 21. The senate, on motion of Senator Werts (democrat) of Morris, took up the act elaborated by the joint committee on ballot reform, and without any opposition passed it. The act had already passed the house, and is now in the hands of the governor for approval, which will not be withheld from it.

It is founded in its main features upon the suggestions made in Senator Werts's original draft, and has therefore come to be known in legislative circles as Werts's bill. It has undergone considerable amendment, however, since the first summaries were published, and a general outline of its provisions in their final shape may be of public interest.

The act begins by establishing county boards of registration all over the state. These boards are to consist of four persons each, two of each political party, to be nominated to the governor by the chairmen of the two state committees. The poll officers are to be non-partisan. In all elections for state offices and congressmen they are to be appointed by the county boards in each county, two of each party, in the nomination by the county committees. In municipal elections they are to be chosen by the governing body of the city, also on the non-partisan basis. These precinct election officials are directed to make a list of the voters in their precinct by "actual inquiry at every dwelling house or habitation," and the registry lists are to be made up from these canvassing books. On election day there are to be two poll clerks instead of one, as now, and two poll lists will be kept.

The next set of clauses provides for the filing by conventions of the lists of their candidates under the seal of the convention with the secretary of state or county or city clerk, according as the offices for which nominations are made are state or local, provided the nominees represent a party that at the election immediately preceding polled five per cent of the entire vote. Nominations by petition are also provided for.

The provisions for the casting of the ballot establish a system that prevails in no other state in the Union. The ballots are to be printed at the expense of the state. Each party is to have a ballot with only the names of its own candidates upon it. The ballots of all the parties are to be exactly alike as to size, color, and paper, and they are all to have a distinctive water mark in their texture. They may be distributed five days before to people who apply for them. But when they are voted they must be inclosed in official envelopes that can be secured at the polls only, and only on election day. Electioneering within 100 feet of the polls is forbidden, and the number of those who can watch the count is limited to two agents of each party, to be designated by the party organization. The envelopes are to be voted unsealed, and if one be destroyed or spoiled by the voter he is to return it before he can receive another. And he cannot receive more than the two. In the count the ballot is to be inclosed again in the envelope, and the envelope is to be strung, with the ballot in it.

The act gives specific directions as to the management of the polling place. There are to be booths supplied with an unlimited number of ballots of all parties, in which the voter is to prepare his ballot. He is then to march directly to the part of the room where the ballot box is and deposit it.

The heaviest of penalties are provided for malfeasance or misfeasance on the part of any official in the performance of his duties, and the supreme court may, on the application of twenty-five freeholders, make a summary investigation into any election that is alleged to have been carried by fraud.

Section 71, the last of the bill, enacts that any employer, agent, superintendent or overseer of workmen who shall by any sort of duress, constraint or improper influence, or by any fraudulent or improper device, contrivance, or scheme, prevent or impede the free exercise of the franchise of any voter at any election, shall be liable to a fine of \$2,000 or five years' imprisonment or both.

CONSTITUTIONAL BALLOT REFORM.  
Harrisburg Patriot.

The straight road to ballot reform is through a constitutional convention. The present state constitution requires that the number opposite the voter's name on the list of voters kept by the election officers shall be placed upon the ballot. This destroys the secret character of the ballot, for the temptation to election officers and those who have custody of the ballot boxes after the vote is counted to ascertain how this, that or the other citizen has voted, is so great that human nature cannot resist it. Therefore in order that the secret ballot may be secured to the people of the state the constitution must be amended not only so that election boards shall no longer be required to number ballots, but that they shall be prohibited from so doing.

It may be proposed that an amendment to the constitution covering the object of the ballot reformers can be submitted by the legislature, but that course of procedure would simply serve to postpone the reform and might result in its final defeat. It would be managed by the republican politicians precisely as they manipulated the late lamented prohibitory amendment. On the other hand, a constitutional convention would do its work in a few months, and, as it would be of a non-partisan character, the people of all parties would promptly ratify it. Constitutional ballot reform is bound to be a great issue at the approaching election, and the party and the candidate that fail to inscribe it upon their banner will merit defeat at the polls.

THE STRAIGHT ROAD.  
York Gazette.

**Mr. Powderly** is not only the organ of the Knights of Labor; he is also, after Mr. Henry George, the most distinguished and devoted advocate of electoral reform in America. Unless he is sadly mistaken in the views of his own people, every labor assembly convened in Pennsylvania, between this and the meeting of the party state conventions, will have resolved in favor of a constitutional convention for ballot reform, and thereby pledged their support to the party which shall honestly and heartily meet their views. The political leader who cannot estimate the significance of these facts is blind and senseless. And we are not alone in our estimate of the vast practical importance of the question. When a leader so able and sagacious as Senator Wallace—himself a candidate for governor—concurs with Mr. Powderly taking bold ground against the ballot numbering provision and in favor of a constitutional convention as the sole method of accomplishing complete reform, there remains small doubt as to the duty of the party and the Scranton convention in the premises. Upon this issue of a constitutional convention for ballot reform, in which labor and democracy would be united, we could not fail to elect both a state ticket and a legislature, thus redeeming the state from misrule and securing substantial justice to the people.

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For the convenience of persons wishing to send **THE STANDARD** on trial to their friends, we have prepared recruit subscription books. They are handsomely bound in heavy alligator paper, and sold at prices regulated by the number of blanks in each book.

These blanks are each an order on **THE STANDARD** to send the paper for four weeks to the person designated, and they save all trouble of remittance as they are paid for in advance. As soon as one of the blanks reaches our business office a postal card is sent to the person designated, informing him that at the request of the sender **THE STANDARD** will be sent to him for four weeks, beginning with the next issue, and that in case he does not wish to continue it it will be stopped at the end of that time. This attracts more attention to it than is given to a sample copy sent out directly from the office.

Every active worker for the single tax should have in his pocket a recruit subscription book, in order that he may be able to tear out the blanks and order the paper sent to anyone with whom he has been having an argument on the subject. If our friends will use the stubs in the books and keep a record of those to whom they order the paper sent they will be able to follow the matter up and probably make converts. The price of the books is as follows:

Five subscriptions . . . . .	\$1.00
Twelve subscriptions . . . . .	2.00
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**THE STANDARD,**  
No. 12 Union square, New York city.

## THE FREE TRADE FIGHT.

## THE M'KINLEY BILL.

The McKinley bill passed the house Tuesday, May 20, by a vote of 164 to 142. Two republicans—Coleman of Louisiana and Featherstone of Arkansas—voted with the democrats, while nine democrats dodged, among them Spinola and Wiley of New York. The others were Bullock of Florida, Cochran of South Carolina, Kilgore of Texas, Lane of Illinois, O'Neal of Indiana, Phelan of Tennessee, Stone of Missouri. The absentees on the republican side were paired, but the democratic delinquents did not take the trouble to pair. The bill is now in the senate, and it is said that it will pass without material amendment.

## THE WHOLESALE TRADE ALARMED.

## THE LINEN ASSOCIATION SOUNDS A NOTE OF WARNING—A COMMITTEE OF IMPORTERS AND MERCHANTS TO GO TO WASHINGTON.

The Linen trade association, 117 Franklin street, this city, which is composed of wholesale importers in the linen line, have become alarmed at the possibility of the passage of the McKinley bill by the senate, and have issued a circular to the trade saying that the bill will raise the duty on most of the linen goods imported from thirty-five to fifty per cent. The circular says:

It is claimed by some that linen goods can be made in this country, but past experience of those who have tried has demonstrated the impossibility of making any except the coarsest fabrics, such as crashes, which least show the imperfections of manufacture.

If the duties should be raised, as proposed, there would be confusion and loss of business for years, until prices could be adjusted, during which your linen department would be very unprofitable.

The association urges that the linen merchants "communicate promptly and emphatically" to the congressmen and senators at Washington their disapproval of the measure, and that they use their influence for its defeat.

The following will show what the increased cost will be on some of the ordinary goods (wholesale), and the retail buyers can, by a little figuring, find what the extra cost will be to them:

	Costing now per yard.	McKinley bill cost per yd.
Russia crash.....	5 84 cts.	7 12 cts.
Canvas for ladies' dress facings or tailors' trimmings ..	8 1-4 cts.	10 cts.
Padding for clothers' or tailors' trimming.....	8 1-2 cts.	11 1-2 cts.
Farmers' drill.....	10 cts.	12 cts.
Brown duster linen.....	11 1-2 cts.	13 1-2 cts.
Lavrs for dresses.....	9 cts.	11 cts.
Unblea bed table damask.....	27 cts.	38 cts.
Blacked table damask.....	42 cts.	51 cts.
	Per doz.	Per doz.
Huck towels.....	\$1 12 1-2	\$1 38
Huck towels.....	3 25	2 75
Ladies' and children's linen handkerchiefs.....	51	68
Ladies' and children's linen handkerchiefs.....	4 50	5 50
Men's linen handkerchiefs.....	3 25	2 70

The committee of importers and merchants recently organized for the purpose of protesting against the passage of the McKinley tariff bill in congress is preparing to go to Washington in full force. When the gentlemen of the committee appear before the senate they will be prepared to present most convincing arguments to demonstrate why the import taxes should not be increased.

## THE TARIFF REFORM CLASS.

## THE CLOSING MEETING ADDRESSED BY WALTER F. PAGE—WHAT PRESIDENT CLEVELAND SAID—WORK FOR THE NEXT CONGRESSIONAL CAMPAIGN ALREADY BEGUN.

The eleventh meeting of the Tariff reform class was called to order last Friday evening by E. Ellery Anderson, who announced that the subject for the evening would be "The tariff and the farmer." Previous to introducing the lecturer, Mr. Anderson told a little story which bore on the subject to be discussed. "Shortly after President Cleveland had promulgated his famous message," said Mr. Anderson, "it became necessary for me to call on him at the White house. After our business was completed, the president and I talked of various things, until we reached his message, which we discussed at length. Reaching for the pen with which he wrote that document, he turned to me, with the penholder between his thumb and forefinger, and said, pointing to it: 'From the time I took up that pen and began my message, until it was completed, the thought uppermost in my mind was that a reform in the tariff would be a greater boon to the farmers than to any other class of our citizens. I still think I am right, and that time will prove it!'"

Mr. Walter F. Page then began his lecture. He said that fifty years ago the urban population was only one per cent of the whole. Then there were no very rich or very poor. To-day twenty-five per cent of the whole population lived in cities. With this has come increase of wealth on one hand and increase of poverty on the other. He believed that the farmers needed relief from the tariff tax more than any other class of our people. But they were a conservative class, slow to change, whose affiliations had been with the republican party ever since the war. It was a matter of habit with them to vote to that ticket. Mr. Page believed that a change was making its way—very slowly, it is true. But he desired to impress upon his audience

that before a change could come the people must be moved. That is a thing that has occurred but once in the history of this country. The abolitionists talked and agitated for years, and created hardly a ripple on the surface of public opinion. The iniquity of slavery was brought to the attention of the farmers, without, apparently, creating the slightest impression. States seceded and war was declared; but the farmers did not move, until Sumter was fired on. Then they rose, but not till then, and the end of human slavery within our borders became only a question of time.

So in this new movement for freedom. The farmer must be convinced of the righteousness of our cause before we can hope to succeed; and arguing with him on the question of percentages is not going to bring conviction to his mind. The truth, the whole truth, that the protective idea is inimical to his interests, is what will bring him to our side. Till then we can hope for very little in the matter of the reforms we seek. The old farmer, sitting at his fireplace beside his good wife—he talking while she is knitting—is the one who says what the policy of our government shall be. When he is convinced that protection is a curse, it will disappear—but not till then.

Mr. Anderson then announced that this meeting was the last one of the series inaugurated by the Reform club. He gave a resume of the various subjects treated by the lecturers, and closed by thanking the members of the class for their attendance. He then adjourned the meeting.

But there was more to come, so the class did not leave their seats. Mr. Anderson read the following resolutions:

Whereas, The Workingmen's tariff reform league is in favor of the reduction of the tariff on the ground that the present tariff increases the price of all the necessities of life, thereby reducing the purchasing power of wages; and

Whereas, We believe that a reduction of the tariff would be followed by increased opportunities for the application of labor, and a reduction of the price of the necessities of life, thereby improving the condition of all wage earners; therefore

Resolved, That it is absolutely necessary, before any improvement in the wage earners' condition can be made, that the tariff wall which obstructs commerce shall be removed.

Resolved, That we call upon all wage earners, who favor our views, to join with us in extending the membership of this league, and working with us for the accomplishment of the ends we seek. Under the new ballot law it is possible for us to nominate and elect candidates for congress in favor of our views. As good citizens, it is the duty of all workingmen to take advantage of the opportunity offered by the new election law.

This league, Mr. Anderson said, had been organized by members of the class and appeared to be a result of the lectures given here. He said a movement had been started, the object of which was to use the combined influence of all the political clubs of this city to secure the nomination and election of men to congress who could and would advocate a reduction of the tariff. He said the movement had gone so far that he could pledge it to the Reform club, the Harlem democratic club, the Young men's democratic club and the Young men's tariff reform club; and while he could not speak officially, he knew that the Manhattan single tax club would be in it. It is the duty of all workingmen who favor tariff reform to join in, said he, and I have no doubt they will.

A unanimous vote of thanks was given the Reform club for the series of lectures given under its auspices, and the class adjourned sine die.

## THE WORKINGMEN'S LEAGUE.

## A NEW ORGANIZATION THAT WILL FIGHT FOR TARIFF REFORM—A PUBLIC MEETING TO BE HELD THIS COMING FRIDAY EVENING.

One of the results of the series of lectures given at Cooper union by the Reform club has been the organization of the "Workingmen's tariff reform league."

The matter had been informally discussed at the two last meetings of the class, with the result that a meeting was held at the rooms of the Manhattan single tax club, 73 Lexington avenue, last Sunday afternoon. As a preliminary, a series of resolutions bearing on the matter of tariff reform and its effect on wage earners was read and adopted. [They are printed elsewhere in this department.] Then an organization was effected by electing William J. Brown (printer), chairman; T. J. Gilligan (salesman), vice-chairman; E. M. Klein (clerk), secretary-treasurer, and an executive committee. Some discussion was held on what ought to be done to strengthen the movement for tariff reform among the workingmen. The officers of the single tax club offered the league the use of the club rooms until it felt able to engage other quarters, which offer was accepted, and it was decided to give notice that a public meeting would be held at the club rooms, 73 Lexington avenue, on this coming Friday evening, May 30, at 8 o'clock. All workingmen in sympathy with the objects of the league are invited to be present. At this meeting arrangements will be made for a mass meeting.

## A TARIFF TUG OF WAR.

LOUIS F. POST AND MAJOR PANGBORN MEET IN JOINT DEBATE BEFORE THE PROFESSORS AND STUDENTS OF CORNELL.  
Chester C. Platt, Ithaca.—The Cornell mock

congress has been discussing the tariff question at almost every session this term, a free trade resolution, the McKinley bill, and a single tax bill having come up respectively for consideration. The boys, not satisfied with the weekly discussions in their mock congressional hall, have held a series of public meetings, in which the issue between free trade and protection has been discussed. First Thomas G. Shearman spoke on free trade and was followed at the next meeting by Professor Robert Ellis Thompson, who argued for the continuation of things as they are.

The last meeting was a joint debate between Louis F. Post of New York and Major Z. K. Pangborn of Jersey City. Barnes hall, the largest auditorium on the campus, was crowded and overflowing with professors, students and citizens of Ithaca, who came to witness what the posters had called the "Great tariff tug of war."

Professor Collin of the law school, who is president of the mock congress, was the presiding officer. He first introduced Major Pangborn, who opened the debate in a speech of thirty minutes. His argument was intended to show, first, that a healthy home competition was necessary to secure fairly low prices, and was impossible without protection, because of the difference in the price of labor here and in Europe; second, that a protective tariff greatly benefited this country by multiplying and diversifying our industries; third, that protection made wages high; and fourth, that it both created a home market and kept that home market to be supplied by domestic products.

Mr. Post followed with a speech forty-five minutes long. He began by dissenting from the definition of free trade given by Major Pangborn, which was said to be in accordance with Professor Sumner's idea of free trade. Mr. Post explained that the kind of free trade he meant was absolute free trade, just such as exists between the states of the Union; that he would have custom houses abolished, and custom house officers set at earning an honest living. Then followed a clear and forcible demonstration of the fundamental principle of exchange, which showed the advantages of trade between individuals, between communities, between states and between countries. He showed by an impressive illustration how it would be impossible for a man, without exchanging, to produce in a thousand years the things to supply the most frugal noon day meal. If he had to be his own butcher, baker, farmer and weaver, he would indeed be in a pitiful condition. To illustrate the way in which the tariff robs us, Mr. Post presented the example of an American near the border, having an excellent horse, which he would like to exchange with a Canadian for a pair of mules. It was obvious, as Mr. Post explained, that both would be benefited by the trade, the American having work to do for which he particularly needed a pair of mules, and the Canadian having no use for mules, but needing the American's horse. Now what right has the government to prevent these men from mutually benefiting themselves by such an exchange? The United States does not absolutely prohibit such a bargain; but if such a trade has been made, no sooner does the American bring his mules over the border than the government seizes one of them and deposits it in the national treasury, where it kicks up a row by swelling the surplus.

Major Pangborn replied with a fifteen minute speech, to which Mr. Post replied in another fifteen minute speech, after which the debate was closed by Major Pangborn. The audience was very appreciative, and the debate will long be remembered as one of the most interesting events of the college year. It was particularly gratifying to all single tax men, because the issue was squarely between out-and-out free trade and protection. Mr. Post was heartily congratulated by a number of the professors and prominent citizens for his very successful presentation of the free trade doctrine.

## WAR ON THE FARMER.

## EIGHT MILLION OF THEM SACRIFICED AT THE ALTAR OF 14,500 MANUFACTURERS.

Fort Dodge, Iowa, Chronicle.

In the following bill the question is put to the plain proof of whether the farmer's surplus products shall be taxed forty-five per cent. It is plain question for the farmer to settle, as to whether or not 8,000,000 of American farmers shall be taxed for the protection of 14,500 mill owners. Following is the bill:

Be it enacted by the senate and house of representatives of the United States of America in congress assembled:

That any citizen of the United States who shall, within the territory thereof, manufacture or produce any article or articles of commerce, and shall sell or send the same for use in any place outside the territory of the United States, shall be entitled to receive from the collector of any port of entry where such articles may be shipped, a certificate setting forth the value or values thereof, all such values to be verified and determined in a manner similar to that by which the values of imports subject to duty are now determined; and upon the production of such certificate at any port of entry, such citizen shall be entitled to the admission, free of duty, of any article or articles of commerce which he may desire to use in the conduct of his business, personally or otherwise, to the extent or value set forth in such certificate. The benefits of this act shall extend and apply to

the heirs, executors, administrators and assigns of such citizen. It shall be the duty of the collectors and other customs officers of the United States to appraise articles and furnish certificates in pursuance of the provisions of this act.

The bill which begins this article puts the question to the proof. If the mill owner is not to be protected from the farmer, and the farmer alone, why may not the farmer exchange the surplus products of his labor which he cannot sell here for other things which he can sell here, without payment of a tax of forty-five per cent upon the final product of his labor.

Democrats and tariff reformers, here is your opportunity to teach the republican farmers of the United States the truth. This bill will not get one republican vote in the house of representatives, though every farmer in the United States should ask for it. No republican speaker, writer or editor will favor it. They dare not. They must oppose everything which permits any competition by American farmers with their masters, the 14,500 mill lords.

Get up petitions in favor of this bill. Ask every republican farmer you know to sign it. Flood congress with petitions for it. Let one go to Washington from every post office in the Union, from every grange, from every alliance, from every union.

Begin now. There is not a subscriber to the Chronicle who cannot do great work in the next thirty days—work which will affect generations to come and for which his neighbors will rise up and call him blessed when the scales fall from their eyes.

We exported last year for sale abroad products of our farms, which could not be sold here, valued at \$532,141,490. In payment our farmer received through agents dutiable goods valued at \$488,644,574, on which they were compelled to pay unnecessary taxes at the custom houses amounting to \$218,701,773—a pretty heavy load for the farmers to carry. This was an average tax of forty-five per cent on all they exchange for anything which interfered with the "protected" class—numbering less than 14,500.

It is perfectly true that there is a free list, and that the farm surplus might have been exchanged for things that would not be taxed when they enter our ports. The free list is a very long one. The farmers might have exchanged all their corn and their cotton, all their wheat and all their provisions, which their countrymen could not eat, for agates, amber beads, art works, asbestos, stuffed birds, bismuth, dried blood, crude bones, rough pebbles, crude camphor, jalap, tonka beans, coffee, curbing stones and five hundred other things not taxed. They did exchange some of their surplus farm products for some of these things—because the people wanted a few dollars' worth of them, but what the people wanted most, what the people were willing to pay most for, was clothing, manufactures of iron and steel, raw material for the employment of American labor; in short, all the things which enter into direct competition with 14,500 mill owners who are "protected" by law in charging their countrymen forty-five per cent more than they charge foreigners for the same identical goods.

The 14,500 mill owners do not always charge their countrymen the full forty-five per cent the law gives them a right to. They are sometimes satisfied with forty or even thirty-five. But they always sell to the foreigner at the foreign price, or below it. They must. Their protection ends at the water's edge, at the Canada and Mexican line. Beyond that they have no "protection," for it is only from the competition of the people of the United States that the American congress can protect them, and in the United States the only persons whose competition can hurt them are the farmers who make this enormous surplus for exchange abroad.

The Iowa farmer who raises 1,000 bushels of corn must sell it or burn it for fuel. All the farmers raise more corn than we can eat. There is no market here for the surplus, so the Iowa farmer ships his surplus to France and receives a slip of paper crediting him with the value. The price of silk is seventy cents a yard here, but only fifty cents in France, so the farmer, through his agent, takes up his credit in 1,000 yards of silk, on which he can make a good profit here, for his neighbors want his silk, if he can supply it, although they do not want his corn.

His silk is stopped at the custom house. It may not enter the country until he has paid a fine of \$350. What for? Because he is competing with a man in Paterson, N. J., who charges his American countrymen seventy cents for silk worth only fifty, and the republican party say that the American farmer shall not work and make silk to sell in competition with a mill owner.

If the farmer should be permitted to exchange a bushel of corn for a yard of silk, by selling the silk for sixty-five cents he would undersell the Paterson mill owner, and he would be getting sixty-five cents for his bushel of corn instead of fifty cents. This protection will not permit. If the farmer raises more corn than can be sold here he shall not be permitted to exchange it for something he can sell here at a profit.

From the beginning to the end of all foreign exchange, of all foreign trade, the only competition that there can be in this country must be between the citizens of this country. That a foreigner can compete in any way,

shape or form is a lie. That any foreigner works for us is a lie. That any product of foreign labor was ever in the possession of any American is a lie. There never was one cent's worth of anything ever eaten, used, worn or enjoyed by any American that was not the product of American labor solely, and the mind of man cannot conceive of any process by which the product of any foreign labor could enter into the possession of any American citizen except by gift or theft.

That the silk the Iowa farmer receives in exchange for his corn is the final product of his labor on the Iowa farm there is not even a republican member of congress sufficiently lost to shame and decency to deny directly. He will not meet the question. He will dodge it and run away from it. But he will not put himself in the pillory of public opinion by denying it.

There is not one republican member of congress who dare meet this issue, fairly or unfairly, or who dare even attempt a reply to it.

Whether the Iowa farmer weaves the silk from corn tassels or obtains it in exchange for ears, it is the product of his labor, and of his labor alone. It is upon the product of his labor alone that the fifty per cent tax is laid.

Whether the American farmers dug from the ground or obtained in exchange for corn and cotton the \$488,644,574 of dutiable goods received last year, the goods were the final produce of their labor on their farms. The only labor the goods represented was American farm labor. It was upon the product of this American farm labor, and of this American farm labor alone, that the tax of forty-five per cent and of \$218,701,773 was last year imposed.

And it was imposed solely to "protect" 14,500 American mill owners from the competition of 8,000,000 American farmers. If there were no farm surplus, there could be no "competition," and no protection would be asked for.

#### OPPOSED TO PROTECTION.

In presenting a petition to the United States senate on May 2 from an antimony company in Arkansas for an increase of the duty on antimony, Mr. Berry (dem., Ark.) said that while it was his duty to present it, he did not agree with the petitioners, as he was opposed to the imposing of duties on any article for the sake of protection.

#### CRACKING THE SHELL.

It is quite easy to understand why the McKinley tariff bill favors an increased duty on lamp chimneys. The cheaper the facilities for providing light, and the more farmers read, the greater will be the certainty of their opposition to the doctrine of protection.—[Kansas City Star.]

A blundering tariff organ declares that "British gold" is being used to cripple the McKinley bill. The fact of the matter is, almost every independent republican editor in the country has thrown a journalistic brick at the humbug measure, which accounts for its crippled condition.—[Harrisburg Patriot.]

"I have always been a stanch protectionist," remarked Youngfater, "but since the baby has been fretful at nights I do wish McKinley would remove the tacks from carpets."—[New York Herald.]

The Blaine family got its full bridal outfit of household linen "handwoven in France" just in time to save the increase of duty the McKinley bill proposes on linen of all sorts.—[St. Louis Republic.]

Massachusetts wants free raw materials for her foundries and woolen mills, but in the same breath asks for additional duties on granite, a raw material which Massachusetts is largely engaged in furnishing to other parts of the country. Thus does the struggle of the "interests" for advantage in the McKinley bill illustrate and emphasize the injustice and iniquity of a measure constructed exclusively for the purpose of favoring particular "interests" at the expense of the people.—[New York World.]

The McKinley bill is an outrageous performance. It is but a cheap monkey show in the face of high heaven and of the American people. It is an attempt to make an angel of the devil without abbreviating his tail or sawing off his horns. It takes dollars from the farmers and returns them dimes. It does not impose a single duty which will help a Kansas farmer. What do we care about the duty on eggs and on hay? This suggestion ought to render the average Kansas rooster impotent and start the hens of every barnyard west of the Mississippi to crowing. The Lord preserve us! But what with the McKinley bill, the supineness of the Reed-Cannon led crowd in the lower house of congress, and hypocritical prohibition, if the republican party in Kansas does not hear something drop next November then twenty-seven years in the editorial service has only fitted us for an insane asylum. The additional duty on wool is but water gruel of the weakest sort for the Kansas farmer, upon whose heart's blood the gold of Wall street and the combine of New England and of the east fatten to full-eyed paucity. As the stars in their course fought against Sisera, so the civilization of the closing hours of the nineteenth century fights against the hide-bound tariff burdens with which the west is being saddled by the incorporated boats of eastern manufacturing and Atlantic money centers. Saddled, too, by the

men, by the political parties which the people themselves sustain and keep in power. This is the position which the people of Kansas will hold and maintain, in spite of the \$2,000 machine majority that was rolled up in the state a few months since for Ben Harrison and protection.—[Wichita, Kan., Eagle (rep).]

The increased tariff tax on cotton ties will be paid out of the labor of southern negroes who have no more sense than to vote the republican ticket. The pennies thus extorted from them will make several millions a year for some Pennsylvania Carnegie.—[St. Louis Republic.]

McKinley's bill  
Itself will kill.  
—[Chicago Tribune (rep).]

A photograph of the tariff bill should have been taken when it left the house. It would have come in handy for purposes of identification when the bill returns from the senate.—[Philadelphia Times.]

The McKinley tariff bill makes 173 pages of manuscript and it will make free traders of several millions of protectionists.—[Harrisburg Patriot.]

If a tariff of fifty per cent will conduce to the general prosperity, why would not taxation to the amount of 100 per cent double the universal blessing? The experiment of taxing a nation into prosperity might as well be carried to its logical conclusion.—[New York World.]

A man may talk tariff reform and yet vote against it. Butterworth was Butterworth's friend of reform when it came to vote.—[Chicago Herald.]

McKinley's plan of campaign: Give the manufacturers and mine owners everything they ask for; give the consumers nothing, especially if they live in New England.—[Boston Globe.]

Chairman Qay would be foolish to resign merely because he is charged with crookedness, when the whole aim of his party, as shown by its tariff bill, is to rob the country under the cloak of protection.—[Milwaukee Journal.]

The McKinley bill taxes jute carpets at six cents per square yard. Jute carpets cost from six to eighty cents per square yard. The low grade which is bought by the poor, is to be taxed 100 per cent, while the high grade, bought by people of more ample means, is to pay a little less than 8 per cent. The less you've got, the more you pay in taxes. That is what is humorously called "protection for the workingman."—[Boston Post.]

Another dose of brandy has been given to the American manufacturers at the expense of the consumers.—[Providence, R. I., Journal.]

#### SO PROTECTION DOES STIMULATE PRODUCTION, AFTER ALL.

Chicago Herald.

The free traders who sneer at the claim of the protectionists that business has already been stimulated by the proposed increase of duties of the republican tariff bill have undoubtedly overlooked the interesting announcement from Georgia that a hen in that state has recently increased its daily "lay" of eggs from one to three. They will hardly be so bold in their misrepresentations as to deny that the bill gives the American hen a protective and fostering duty on eggs, of which, of course, this increased activity on the part of the Georgia hen is a prompt and gratifying result.

#### "MACKINLEYING" THE FARMER.

Philadelphia Record.

After tin plate shall have been "mackinleyed" the farmer will have about one per cent taken out of the money he may get for his butter because of the increased cost of tinware. As the tariff now stands the farmer has to pay eight cents more for each 15 quart pail, 4 cents more for each 10 quart pan, and 45 cents more for each 40 quart can. The McKinley bill proposes to more than double these extra taxes laid upon the cost of pans and pails.

#### THEY WANTED TO ADMIRE HIS "NERVE."

Louisville Courier-Journal.

It appears that Mr. McKinley was mistaken as to the reason that prompted fifteen hundred thousand farmers to stand at the door of congress. They were not there to ask for relief, which they knew would be refused, but only to admire the nerve of Mr. McKinley, in relieving the men that had furnished the "fat" in 1888.

#### THE GROWTH OF TARIFF REFORM.

Boston Herald.

The extent to which tariff reform has gained since President Cleveland's message of 1887 has had no parallel in politics since the days of the anti-slavery conflict. Like anti-slavery, also, tariff reform has gained largely through the unreasonable claims of its opponents for their favorite abuse.

#### NOT PROUD OF THEIR INFANT.

Kansas City Star.

Mr. McKinley stated in the house that the ways and means committee had no personal pride in the tariff bill nor in any part of it. In the light of this admission the country must at least give the committee credit for knowing a bad thing when they see it.

#### THE TRUTH IN A NUTSHELL.

Buffalo Courier.

As land is taken up wages in America will draw closer to those paid in Europe.

#### SINGLE TAX NEWS.

##### SINGLE TAX PLATFORM.

The single tax contemplates the abolition of all taxes upon labor or the products of labor—that is to say, the abolition of all taxes save one tax levied on the value of land, irrespective of improvements.

Since in all our states we now levy some tax on the value of land, the single tax can be instituted by the simple and easy way of abolishing, one after another, all other taxes now levied, and commensurately increasing the tax on land values, until we draw upon that one source for all expenses of government; the revenue being divided between local governments, state governments and the general government, as the revenue from direct taxes is now divided between the local and state governments, or a direct assessment being made by the general government upon the states and paid by them from revenues collected in this manner.

The single tax is not a tax on land, and therefore would not fall on the use of land and become a tax on labor.

It is a tax, not on land, but on the value of land. Thus it would not fall on all land, but only on valuable land, and on that not in proportion to the use made of it, but in proportion to its value—the premium which the user of land must pay to the owner, either in purchase money or in rent, for permission to use valuable land. It would thus be a tax, not on the use or improvement of land, but on the ownership of land, taking what would otherwise go to the owner as owner, and not as user.

In assessments under the single tax all values created by individual use or improvement would be excluded, and the only value taken into consideration would be the value attaching to the bare land by reason of neighborhood, etc. Thus the farmer would have no more taxes to pay than the speculator who held a similar piece of land idle, and the man who on a city lot erected a valuable building would be taxed no more than the man who held a similar lot vacant.

The single tax, in short, would call upon men to contribute to the public revenues in proportion to what they produce or accumulate, but in proportion to the value of the natural opportunities they hold. It would compel them to pay just as much for holding land idle as for putting it to its fullest use.

The single tax, therefore, would—

- Take the weight of taxation off of the agricultural districts where land has little or no value irrespective of improvements, and put it on towns and cities where bare land rises to a value of millions of dollars per acre.
- Dispense with a multiplicity of taxes and a horde of taxgatherers, simplify government and greatly reduce its cost.

- Do away with the fraud, corruption and gross inequality inseparable from our present methods of taxation, which allow the rich to escape while they grind the poor. Land cannot be hid or carried off, and its value can be ascertained with greater ease and certainty than any other.

- Give us with all the world as perfect freedom of trade as now exists between the states of our Union, thus enabling our people to share through free exchanges in all the advantages which nature has given to other countries, or which the peculiar skill of other peoples has enabled them to attain. It would destroy the trusts, monopolies, and corruptions which are the outgrowths of the tariff. It would do away with the fines and penalties now levied on any one who improves a farm, erects a house, builds a machine, or in any way adds to the general stock of wealth. It would leave every one free to apply labor or expend capital in production or exchange without fine or restriction, and would leave to each the full product of his exertion.

- It would, on the other hand, by taking for public uses that value which attaches to land by reason of the growth and improvement of the community, make the holding of land unprofitable to the mere owner and profitable only to the user. It would thus make it impossible for speculators and monopolists to hold natural opportunities unused or only half used, and would throw open to labor the illimitable field of employment which the earth offers to man. It would thus solve the labor problem, do away with involuntary poverty, raise wages in all occupations to the full earnings of labor, make overproduction impossible until all human wants are satisfied, render labor saving inventions a blessing to all, and cause such an enormous production and such an equitable distribution of wealth as would give to all comfort, leisure and participation in the advantages of an advancing civilization.

The ethical principles on which the single tax is based are:

- Each man is entitled to all that his labor produces. Therefore no tax should be levied on the products of labor.
- All men are equally entitled to what God has created and to what is gained by the general growth and improvement of the community of which they are a part. Therefore, no one should be permitted to hold natural opportunities without a fair return to all for any special privilege thus accorded to him, and that value which the growth and improvement of the community attaches to land should be taken for the use of the community.

#### A BREACH MADE BY SINGLE TAXERS.

##### HOW A BILL TO ABOLISH THE TAX ON PERSONAL PROPERTY WAS CARRIED—A FIGHT COMING ON A WELL DEFINED QUESTION.

Newport, Ky., May 22.—In a letter some time ago I told you about the city council passing unanimously upon a resolution exempting personal property from taxation. That resolution was intrusted to three of our influential citizens with instructions to present the same to the state legislature, and to use their best efforts to have the same embodied in a special act to amend the charter of the city of Newport.

The resolution passed both the house and senate, but was vetoed by Governor Buckner. It was immediately resubmitted to the legislature, who again passed the bill with the proviso that the same be submitted to the people of the city of Newport; and that Monday, May 19, the day set for the people to decide upon this important question. The result is, that it was carried by a majority of 1,315 votes, and it now becomes a law.

The single taxers in this vicinity are elated over the result, for they begin to see in the near future the adoption of the only just system of taxation.

This resolution was urged on by the large vacant land owners, who saw no other way of disposing of their vacant lots which they hold at pretty high figures. They expect by the passage of this resolution to induce manufacturers to locate here, thereby increasing the price of lots, which are already high—lots that have always been assessed as farm property, the valuation being \$3 per acre, while the lot value has been from \$50 to \$60 per front foot. It will not be very long before the hundreds of small house holders will begin to realize that they are being unjustly assessed, for their taxes are bound to be raised in order to pay the costs of municipal expenditures. It is almost impossible now for some to pay their share of taxes. They are people who toil from day to day for a small pittance, who have acquired what little property they have by putting fifty cents or a dollar a week into a building association; but it won't be long before they will begin to see the cat in all its magnificent outlines.

For one shall do my best to open their eyes to the injustice of a system that robs the many to enrich the few. It will be a stubborn fight, and will require a good amount of ammunition to carry on the war, so I call upon the friends of our cause to give what assistance they can, be it ever so small. Every little helps. Surplus copies of THE STANDARD, tracts, pamphlets, literature, is what we want; if you have it to spare send it on and I will see that it is properly distributed. I would also like to enlist the letter writing corps, for some people will read a letter where a tract would be fired into the waste basket. We have no organization, but depend upon individual effort to carry on the work. There are only three or four ardent single taxers in our place, and our means are limited; so, friends, give us what assistance you can. JOSEPH L. SCHRAER.

#### THE PETITION.

SINGLE TAX ENROLMENT COMMITTEE,  
12 UNION SQUARE,  
NEW YORK, May 26, 1890.

The single tax enrolment committee is circulating a petition asking the United States house of representatives to appoint a special committee to make inquiry into and report upon the expediency of raising all public revenues by a single tax upon the value of land, irrespective of improvements, to the exclusion of all other taxes, whether in the form of tariffs upon imports, taxes upon internal productions or otherwise. It will send blank petitions on application to any address, and single tax men are urged to obtain petitions and obtain signatures as a most convenient and effective way of starting the discussion.

Subscriptions toward the expenses of this committee's work remain as reported last week, viz., \$3,329.85.

Cash contributions for six days ending May 26, are as follows:

C. F. Knight (additional), Frankfort Springs, Pa.	\$1.00
Jas. Martin, Cleveland, Ohio	15
Harry Lytle, Seattle, Wash.	25
John Preston, Seattle, Wash.	50

\$1.90

Contributions previously acknowledged . . . . . 770.41

Total . . . . . \$773.81

The enrolment now stands as follows:

Reported last week . . . . . 82,497

Signatures received since last report . . . . . 655

Total . . . . . 83,153

For news budget see "Troll of States" below.

G. St. J. LEAVENS, Sec.

#### N.Y. CITY.

AN UNEXPECTED MUSICALE—PREPARING FOR THE FALL CAMPAIGN.

The agitation committee of the Manhattan

single tax club had not exerted to have any entertainment last Thursday evening, because Jerome O'Neill was painting the wood-work in the parlors; but on Wednesday afternoon they got a letter from James Beggs, the leader of the single tax band, in which he said he and a couple of single tax musicians would come round on the following evening, if there was no objection, and give the members of the club some music. Of course the friendly offer was accept'd, the painting hurried up and postal card immediately sent to all the members, inviting them to come and have a pleasant evening.

Sharp on time on Thursday evening Mr. Beggs appeared, accompanied by Mr. Blakeney, brother of Blakeney of Binghampton (a violinist), and a piano player. Mr. Beggs brought his concert. The gentlemen played a number of selections in fine style and Messrs. Steers, Simon, Faulhaber and Van Veen sang songs and gave recitations; and a very pleasant evening was enjoyed by all.

Various committees of the club are at work arranging for the fall campaign; and it is expected that in a week or two the arrangements will be sufficiently advanced to be made public.

To-morrow evening (Thursday) there will be a "sketching party" and a musical entertainment, for which Signor Brizzi will preside at the piano, and readings, recitations, etc. All friends are invited to attend, and they are asked to bring their mothers, wives or sweethearts. The "sketching party" idea is one of the most amusing entertainments ever offered in the club rooms.

#### BROOKLYN.

RECEPTION AND ENTERTAINMENT AT THE OPENING OF THE NEW CLUB ROOMS—MR. WARNER'S ADDRESS—THE SINGLE TAX MEN OF THE EIGHTEENTH WARD PUT A CANDIDATE FOR SUPERVISOR IN THIS FIELD.

W. F. Withers, Brooklyn.—There was a goodly gathering of single tax folk at the club house on Livingston street, last Wednesday evening, May 21, and a number who had not seen the eat, too; but if the latter didn't leave the house with clearer ideas on the subject than they had when they went in, then they must have been absent-minded while Mr. Post was talking. But of this later on.

Shortly after 8 o'clock our guests began to assemble, the ladies taking possession of the parlors and the gentlemen generally going up stairs to amuse themselves with billiards and checkers or to discuss the situation.

Among our visitors was Mr. Chin of Massachusetts, who expressed surprise at the progress we are making. He thinks that the single tax idea has taken a greater hold here than at his home; but warns us that the Bay state is waking up, and will tread on our heels if we don't keep moving.

Some of the ladies who honored us with their presence, are Mrs. Bedingfield, Mrs. White, Miss Hemmings, Miss Mahon, Mrs. Hughes, the Misses O'Connor, Miss Cordeau, the Misses Urbani, Mrs. and Miss Beckman.

At 9 o'clock the sound of the piano summoned everybody to the parlors, which were soon filled, and the late comers took positions in the hall and on the stairs.

A piano solo, by Mr. W. L. Thompson, headed the programme. He was followed by Mr. I. K. Carle in a banjo solo. Next to take the floor was Mr. J. A. Hogan, famous as a character impersonator, who amused the audience with some of his character songs.

After the laughter had subsided, Mr. Louis F. Post, the guest of the evening, arose and made a ringing speech explaining the single tax, its object and method, in a few terse sentences. Mr. Post's address was calculated to correct the notion that so many have, that the single tax movement is a species of socialism; or the idea that it is the poor man's fight against his rich neighbor—the conflict of labor with capital. He also paid his respects to the rubber tariff. His picture of the mechanic and his family at their Sunday dinner, the component parts of which, though necessarily brought from all quarters of the globe, were the result of that one man's industry, clearly illustrated the fact that exchange is a part of production. Mr. Post's remarks were received with tremendous applause.

We were next treated to something quite new to most of us—a guitar and banjo duet, by Messrs. Carle and Elbert.

After this we were delightfully entertained for an hour with songs and recitations. Mr. F. E. A. Curley recited first a selection from Longfellow's "Hyperion," and afterward a chapter of "Progress and Poverty," in a very effective manner.

The character and dialect songs of Messrs. Thompson, Hogan and Skelly caused great merriment. At half-past 10 o'clock supper was announced, and while our guests were discussing salads the chairs were being removed from the floor of the parlors. A dancing cloth had been stretched over the carpet, and before all had finished eating the piano was heard playing a waltz. The young folks lost no time in getting back, and in about two minutes there were half a dozen couples on the floor.

The next two hours were devoted to songs and dances alternately. We are indebted to Miss Urbani and Miss Cordeau for some very pretty vocal and instrumental music. By 1

o'clock all the company had departed except a dozen ladies and gentlemen, who gathered in a circle around Mr. Charles Simpson to hear him sing his favorite song, while Mr. Thompson played the accompaniment.

It was then unanimously resolved that we had spent a most delightful evening, and that we ought to have a similar entertainment once a month hereafter. Before the company dispersed a dozen recruits had enrolled their names. The club has now on roll upward of three hundred names, and we expect before the end of time to have all Brooklyn enlisted in the cause.

Mr. John DeWitt Warner made a very interesting address before the Brooklyn single tax club on last Sunday evening on Brooklyn's interest in free trade. He first stated some of the reasons why the whole country, Brooklyn included, would be benefited by free trade—in fact—by absolutely free trade. But he went on to say that Brooklyn had a special interest in free trade which was not shared by the cities of the interior. The reason why Brooklyn has grown to be a great city is the fact of the existence of the port of New York. That magnificent bay makes this the great importing and distributing point for the whole country—the best place of exchange between the old and new world. Brooklyn, therefore, is essentially a commercial city, and its growth and prosperity depend largely upon the number of ships that do business here.

New York, he said, had an immense advantage over London in the extent and resources of the country back of her; and if we would just let God alone and do what we could to remove artificial obstructions, in twenty-five years this would be the great center of trade for the world.

Mr. Warner was listened to with profound attention, and afterward replied to several questions.

S. T., Eastern District.—The single tax men of this district have already made a nomination which they will suggest to the democratic party of the Eighteenth ward, and they are now engaged in securing the signatures required under the new ballot law to make his nomination legal. The name of the candidate is James B. Connell, a printer, member of Typographical union No. 6, and the office is supervisor. The following card is being extensively circulated throughout the district:

Single tax nomination for supervisor of the Eighteenth ward, James B. Connell, property owner in the Eighteenth ward, member of New York typographical union No. 6, and District assembly 2275, Knights of Labor, and a veteran of the late war of the rebellion. The issue: The exemption of five hundred dollars worth of improved property from taxation. The single tax principle is to tax the value of your lot only.

If the democrats nominate a suitable man, who will stand on the issue set forth above, Mr. Connell's name will be withdrawn; if not, he will stand, with the certainty that he will draw away enough votes to defeat the democratic candidate.

#### NEW YORK STATE.

THINKS THE LETTER WRITING CORP A GOOD THING.

F. G. Anderson, Jamestown.—I have sent seventy-four signatures to the enrolment committee. I think every single taxer ought to be an active member of the single tax letter writing corps, and average at least one letter a week. I believe that the single tax writing corps, or idea, is one of the very best means of propaganda; and no true single taxer ought to consider himself too humble and insignificant, and none too proud and big to belong to it.

I hope that no single tax conference will be held unless there is a very good indication that it will be a success. By next year we will have many more out-and-out single taxers.

#### CONNECTICUT.

THE BRIDGEPORT CLUB PROGRESSING—MRS. GORSUCH DELIVERS THE LECTURE—HAVING FAIR LUCK WITH THE PETITION.

Eva F. Hersey, Bridgeport.—The meeting last Sunday afternoon opened as usual with piano music. Mr. William J. Gorsuch read the poem, "Miss Nancy Tariff," published in THE STANDARD of May 21. This was followed by an address by Mrs. William J. Gorsuch on "Life Eternal." It was an excellent effort, showing a fine spiritual nature, with enough of the material blended to appreciate and point out the law of "cause and effect."

One specially good point scored (which I think could be used effectively by reformers) was, that the growing moral apathy—that so many of our orthodox ministers are complaining of—was due to the bitter battle of the majority for an existence. That the disinclination of the masses to reach out for something higher and better was the natural outcome of the exhaustion incidental to the mental and physical struggle necessary to keep from under the iron heel of our master—the landlord—who stands between us and our divine heritage—"the earth and the fullness thereof."

Mrs. Gorsuch's address called forth some very atheistical remarks from a hard-headed old lawyer, who believes in neither man, God, or the devil. We call him "Honest

John," because he is like the landlord; if he once gets a grip on a body's pocket book it is time to say good-by to its contents. He was ably answered by Mr. Gorsuch, who has as keen a relish for combats of that kind as an old war horse has for powder smoke.

W. G. Spencer, Thomaston.—I am having fair success with the petition. It is strange that we cannot do more than we are doing; but we may be building better than we know. Who could read Garrison's address without being convinced?

#### PENNSYLVANIA.

A BIG FREE TRADE MEETING TO BE HELD IN PHILADELPHIA—A CHANGE IN OPINION.

J. Moore, Kensington, Phila.—I have solicited signatures to the petition with success. I inclose four signed by workingmen, who, I learned by conversation, were all free traders. I regret to say our single tax club has disbanded, but the members will not remain inactive, as they have decided to co-operate with the Kensington reform club. That is practically a free trade club, and is composed chiefly of single tax men, and is doing much good by its Sunday afternoon lectures and debates. On June 3 the Reform club will hold a mass meeting in Textile hall, Kensington avenue and Cumberland street, for the purpose of demanding free raw material. Messrs. Carlisle, Breckinridge, Fitch and McAdoo are to deliver addresses, and good results are expected. This is exceedingly gratifying when we consider that this is one of the largest manufacturing districts in America, and is renowned for its adherence to protection and reductions in wages, with an occasional strike or lockout. But the workingmen are beginning to find out that protection is rather expensive, and he has to bear the burden, and soon a great change will take place.

William Hancock, Wyoming.—By this mail I send forty signatures to the committee.

The light is spreading. A prominent farmer one year ago told me I ought to be treated as the Chicago anarchists were for advocating land restoration through the single tax. A few days ago he told me he was studying the question with a good deal of interest, and inclining toward it as the only remedy for the existing oppression of the farmer, his position being one of isolation, and therefore he became a most easy prey to any robbery the result of legislative usurpation which land franchises, as now existing, are. He told me to enter his name as a subscriber to THE STANDARD.

#### WEST VIRGINIA.

THE SCHOOL HOUSE CAMPAIGN AGAIN OPENED.

W. I. Boreman, Parkersburg.—Nothing out of the usual has happened down here. Our school house campaigning has commenced again now that the roads have dried a little. The tariff question is a rather stale one unless you talk free trade. The farmers do not take much stock in small measures. The Farmers' alliance is forming and will have its influence in next fall's voting. We are working locally on the tax laws, and are trying to show up their absurd and unjust points. The democrats have as yet done nothing toward the fall work in the canvas. They do not seem to have any leaders that care to lead; but may be after awhile things will warm up. We spoke last Saturday night at a school house that we had not been to for about a year, and it was very encouraging to find that about two-thirds of the audience were single taxers, where only the twelve-month before all but one were opposed to or ignorant of the question. If we could only get at the farmers, they are ready for radical measures; but, you know, a living must be made.

#### ILLINOIS.

THE CHICAGOANS GETTING READY FOR THE FALL CAMPAIGN—HOW LOUIS LESAULNIER MAKES CONVERTS—TRACTS HELP TO GET SIGNATURES.

Chicago, May 23.—In spite of inclement weather, Mr. F. W. Meadows had a full house to talk to last evening. He discussed the tariff with rare ability from the standpoint of a real free trader; and when he was done there wasn't enough left of the protection fetish to wag a gun. This was the first formal appearance of Mr. Meadows as a speaker. He has often been heard in the five-minute discussions that are among the most pleasing features of our meetings, but this was his maiden effort at a set speech. His success was complete and the club feels prouder of him than ever.

The following, proposed by Mr. J. T. Ripley, one of our most energetic workers, is being brought to the attention of the democrats, and its adoption by the ward clubs and conventions will be urged.

Whereas, The leading issue of the campaign of 1890 in Illinois will be that of taxation, and the democratic party condemns all systems of taxation which discriminate against the masses in favor of a small though powerful class of monopolists who, under the existing system of levying state and municipal taxes, are able to influence valuations and assessments in their interest at the expense of the rest of the community; therefore,

Resolved, That our delegates to the county convention in Chicago and to the state convention in Springfield, be and are hereby

instructed to secure the adoption of the following plank in the platform of the Illinois state democratic convention, viz.:

The democratic party of Illinois demands the simplification of the system and machinery for the assessment of state and municipal taxes, and that all property be assessed as provided by law at its cash selling value, or at a uniform and agreed proportion of the same, without discrimination in favor of corporate property or of unimproved lands, and that the publication of the tax list be made in each municipality and township in the state, showing in detail the assessment against each tax payer and corporation, the valuation of all franchises, improved lands, unimproved lands and buildings to be shown separately.

The Chicago Sunday Herald is conducting an election by ballot to determine the most popular teacher in Chicago, the winner to be treated to a trip to Europe at the paper's expense. The voting began two weeks ago, and will continue until June 25. The ballots are printed in the Sunday Herald, and those who desire to vote must cut them out and send them to the Herald office, with the name and the school of their candidate written in. Miss Isabelle Hudson, of the Central park school, a member of our club, is a candidate, and the single tax people are giving her an energetic support. She stood fourth in the list last Sunday. We expect to see her at the head of the poll before the contest ends, and we shall be disappointed if we do not succeed in winning the day for her. All friends of the single tax movement should make a point of throwing all the votes to her they can. The contest will be a hot one and the winner must get a great many votes. If Miss Hudson shall come out ahead, it will be recognized as a single tax victory.

Louis Lesaulnier, Red Bud.—Many arguments are necessary in order to overcome protection and other false notions the people cling to. In the last few weeks I have boiled down my main argument so it strikes home with force, and seldom if ever misses a strong impression and creates a desire for further thought. I say about as follows: It would be wrong for a private citizen to take any of your property for taxation; it is just as wrong if he is backed by a majority and law. But we all have the same right to land which the Indian had—the right to use it; and as it is impracticable for us to demand our share of ground rent, government collects it for all of us, pays its own expenses from this fund, and this will render all other taxation unnecessary. The paying of ground rent is the value of a monopoly of land we enjoy against the equal right of others. Our present laws divide the people into ground lords and ground renters; Henry George would make us all ground renters to the people. Now, most of us pay ground rent and taxes. Will we not be better off to have the taxes abolished, and would it not save us a great deal of trouble and lying, which people are invited to do now in order to save their property from the assessor, etc. Such argument I always supplement by some kind of single tax literature, THE STANDARD, or a Henry George book, and request its earnest consideration, always offering a reward of \$100 to any one who can show us a better way of keeping up the government and doing justice. There are many other reforms discussed, but all of these ultimately increase the power of the ground lord—if we leave the land laws as they are at present. Justice demands that nobody stand in the way of my using unoccupied land, or in freely exchanging the products of my labor wherever I can, so that I may enjoy the full fruits of my labor, only paying the people the value of the monopoly of land I enjoy against their equal rights. This will equalize natural opportunities, and our people will then not be compelled to use poorer and undesirable places while much better and desirable land lies idle; they will not be forced to go into the wilderness while there is plenty of room among people of their choice.

M. H. Palmer, Jerseyville.—I find that our tracts assist me very much in getting signatures to the petition. I have succeeded in showing to quite a few the hump on the cat's back. All that remains is for the mist to pass away and the cat will be quite plain, and then Thomases will be numerous in Jerseyville.

#### MICHIGAN.

WANTS A PAMPHLET WRITTEN ON OVER PRODUCTION.

William Mitchell, West Saginaw.—Some able writer should produce a pamphlet on the special subject of this protection fallacy, "overproduction." He ought to handle the subject in all its relations with labor. The pamphlet should show that every time wages are cut down, the purchasing power of the wage produced is lessened just so much, causing, not overproduction, but "under-consumption." That, when capital combines to enslave labor, and rob it of its just reward, they glut the market and under-consumption is the result. I presume that, like myself, most single taxers receive a slap in the face with this old, worn out dish rag. We are not always ready with an argument, and are unable to go over piles of literature to find one. I think that, both as single tax men and free traders, we stand in need of a special "vade mecum" for the next fall campaign.

Again, I should like to suggest to you—in

confidence—that it would be a very good idea also to print a blank notice on the back of every new tract as follows:

single tax [or free trade] club meets \_\_\_\_\_, at — o'clock, at \_\_\_\_\_

President, \_\_\_\_\_  
Secretary, \_\_\_\_\_

Those blanks could be filled up by each distributor, and might lead many persons to our rooms through curiosity.

Our single tax club has dwindled down during the past winter to less than a quorum, not from defections, but from removals to other parts. We had an informal meeting last Sunday and added four new members. We meet a week from next Sunday to re-organize, and the future name of our organization will be the "Saginaw free trade club." Our secretary will report to you after we organize. He will also state the reasons for the change.

George Hicks, Hersey.—I am going to the north part of the state to organize the Patrons of industry. I shall miss no opportunity to put in a word for the single tax.

#### IOWA.

##### A SINGLE TAX MAN WHO NOW HAS COMPANY.

James S. Mott, Mason City.—So much of my time is taken up in the struggle for existence that I am thereby prevented taking such an active part in propaganda work as I would like to. Still I feel encouraged. I take advantage of every opportunity to let our principles be known. Time was when I had to fight single handed in this vicinity. Such is not now the case. I am no longer alone. A short time ago, in a dispute with an opponent, I said it was the community that created land values. My opponent denied it, and said it was the buildings. "Look here," chimed in a new convert, "let us take the city bank for example. It occupies one of the best locations in the city. Suppose the population of Mason City increased to ten times its present numbers, the value of that lot would be ten times greater. The building would have no greater value because it, or one as good as it, can be reproduced." Our antagonist was beaten. It made me feel good to realize that the seed I have sown is bearing fruit.

I am sometimes struck with the unconscious manner in which some men advance single tax ideas. A young Englishman I was talking with the other day came from the village of Egham, near Windsor, England. Dr. Holloway, of pill and ointment fame, is there building a large free infirmary. When it was first broached the simple villagers thought what a good thing it would be. Householders could take in lodgers, store-keepers could sell more goods, quite a number started boarding houses, and for a very short time everything went as merry as a marriage bell. When, lo and behold! Presto!—a change came over the spirit of their dreams. The landlords all raised the rents, and Henry George's statements as per "Progress and Poverty" were verified to the letter.

The poor mortgage ridden farmers around here are a very conservative class. They worship the protection with all the ardor of the Hindoo who immolates himself under the car of Juggernaut, and if you mention Henry Georgeism they turn up the whites of their eyes in holy horror, and have much the same feeling of the Irishman who, when he got scared at what he thought a ghost, blest himself and exclaimed, "Betrue us and all harrum."

A Brother Farmer, Des Moines.—How is this for ground value? I wonder if the farmers can see the difference? This clipping is from the Chicago Times of May 18. I would like to hear from some one—farmer preferred—where the single tax on land values would fall:

The lease of the property bounded by Dearborn, Jackson and Quincy streets, where the now Northern hotel is to be erected, has finally been effected and was filed for record yesterday afternoon. Eugene S. Pike, the owner, leases the block to the Northern hotel company for ninety-nine years at an annual rental of \$25,000 for the first two years and \$50,000 per annum for the remainder of the term. The company is composed of Messrs. Eden, Hurlburt, Chassaigne, Burnham and others. At least \$1,000,000 will be spent on the structure, and it is intended to make it the finest hotel in the country. Work in clearing off the ground was begun last week.

#### CALIFORNIA.

##### THE MOVEMENT PROGRESSING—EASY TO GET SIGNATURES TO THE PETITION.

William Corkhill, South Riverside.—I have been in this town over two years. When I came here first there was only one single tax man in the place, B. C. Turner, our druggist. Having been acquainted with the latter some years, I of course could not rest here without preaching about the new crusade, so I struck in at once, and I can assure you I had a good time of it. I got accustomed to hearing myself called anarchist, socialist, etc. But I kept bummering away and now I can count quite a number of those who not long ago were our opponents that now are our fast friends, and I no longer am called anarchist. Here we have many object lessons showing up the injustice of our social system; for although the boom is "bust," yet land is held at high figures. Work is scarce and laborers too many, and California is no

longer the Eldorado where fortunes can be picked up by anyone; and it would save many poor men bitter disappointment if the true facts were better known throughout the east.

S. T., San Francisco.—The Weekly Star prints the following beautiful poem, from the pen of Mrs. Frances M. Milne, in memory of the late Miss Kate Kennedy:

Are not our hearts still thrilling, but to name them—

Our comrades gone before?  
Do not their vacant places mutely claim them  
For welcome, as of yore?

Oh, they have passed beyond our mortal seeing!  
But, think you, love can change?

Or that the hope, that was their spirit's being,  
Finds not a higher range?

It were so poor a space for joy of doing—  
Our earth's brief shadowed year!  
Oh, great, true souls! ye sure are still pursuing  
Love's service, even as here.

Still, still with us ye share the high endeavor,  
With purer, steadier aim;  
No fitful wind of time can quench or waver  
Your faith's undying flame!

We, too, are in eternity; around us  
The same great ocean flows;  
The same great law of brotherhood hath  
Bound us;  
Life knows not any close!

We may not tell whence comes the inspiration;

Yet sometimes, faint of soul,  
We feel anew the heavenly exaltation  
That makes the spirit whole.

And we arise as though a comrade, calling,  
Reproved our dull delay;  
And, all unquestioning what fate besetting,  
Urge glad our forward way.

For us, the long and dusty highway's faring;  
For them, the height serene.

But, oh, they share, with love's divinest  
caring,

Our pilgrimage between.

I sometimes think, how they must yearn—beholding

All that we long to know—  
To give to us the glorious, bright unfolding,  
Kept from our eyes below.

For them, for us: One is the faith and  
patience;

One is the great reward.  
Or here, or there—what matter where our  
stations?

We answer to our Lord.

L. A. Hill, Pasadena.—I only wish I had more time that I could devote to explaining the single tax to people. There is no trouble about getting signers to the petition; the only trouble is that times are so hard here that one has to use all his time and thoughts to get enough to live on. I have been in the central part of the state during last fall and winter, and have conversed with hundreds of men about it, and I believe that if we had a dozen good, earnest speakers to work in this state we could make a single tax state of it in less than one year. The soil of this state at the present time is just adapted to the growth of single tax seed. For instance, I met a gentleman the other day, and he asked me if I remembered a conversation I had with him about a year ago and giving him a tract on the land question. I told him I believed I did. He said he thought I would like to know that I had made a convert by it, and not only one, but a good many more in his village; that quite a number of them went to hear Mr. George when he was in Los Angeles, and it was the best thing they ever heard. And I find it is growing in every direction. All it wants is plenty of seed and a little cultivation.

As soon as I can I am going to send for some tracts. I buy three copies of THE STANDARD, and am going to keep one on the table of the public library here.

#### COLORADO.

##### TWENTY-ONE PAPERS WANT TO USE SINGLE TAX READING MATTER.

H. C. Niles, Denver.—After the article by R. G. Brown of Memphis, Tenn., appeared in THE STANDARD, explaining their method of supplying county newspapers with single tax matter, our club here got the Memphis club to circulate the state of Colorado and adjacent territories.

I called a few days ago at the office of the Western newspaper union to learn as to the success or failure of our efforts. The replies they had received were twenty-four, twenty-one asking for single tax matter and three declining to have anything of the kind published in their papers.

N. B. Dresser, Independent, Rock Springs, Wyo., wrote: "Am glad to learn you have taken up this matter, and hope you will get numerous orders." Miss Carrie Byrd, Journal, Lyons, Col., says: "I shall be pleased to have single tax matter published in our Journal." The Dillon Enterprise (?) said: "I don't want any of this truck in my paper." The State Herald, Holyoke: "Don't want it. Want pure republicanism in my paper."

The papers already taking the matter are well distributed all over the state, and we are much encouraged with the result and expect to see an evidence of a change of heart in our "pagans" toward the single tax.

#### MAINE.

A. C. Dunning, Auburn.—We intend to organize a tariff reform club here.

#### RHODE ISLAND.

R. J. Bell, Ashton.—I have just sent some petitions to the committee. Every little helps. If I had more time I could do better.

#### NEW JERSEY.

William Kirkpatrick, Newark.—I think the short explanation of the theory on the back of the petition blank is a great improvement on the old form, as it gives the signer an opportunity to read and consider. Some of these persons who have signed my blanks were high protectionists, but after some talk with them they saw that the tariff, by enhancing the price of commodities, restricted production and the employment of labor. The others were in favor of restricting immigration as a means of advancing wages, but it did not take much time to have them admit that the better way was to take the restrictions off the element that wealth comes from, not by putting them on the element that produces wealth.

#### GEORGIA.

W. E. Allen, Augusta.—Single tax news from Georgia is small and far between. No active work is being done here as a society, but the members are doing a lot of telling propaganda work. A general street discussion is waking up things, and the people are not so scared of the doctrine as formerly. A great prejudice has been broken down; that is saying a great deal for this place. I should be pleased to see that doughty champion, the New Earth, taken by every single taxer; it has its use along with THE STANDARD, and much good will be accomplished. The Farmers' alliance is a great factor in bringing the single tax into prominence here.

#### INDIANA.

Samuel Quinn, Evansville.—P. H. Carroll and myself were invited yesterday to address the convention of farmers and Knights of Labor held at Wadesville, Posey county. About 1,500 Farmer's mutual benefit association and Knights of Labor were represented. They nominated a full independent ticket, and the indications are that the ticket will be elected by an overwhelming majority.

Brother Carroll touched on the land question, and in a forcible speech of over an hour pointed out some of the radical reforms that must be taken up.

The most hopeful sign for the single tax in this movement is the breaking away from old parties and the learning of such men to think for themselves.

#### KANSAS.

Robert M. Quirk, Dellvale, Norton county.—I have sent a few names to the enrollment committee, and am sorry I could not send more. The truth is, that I have no spare time on my hands, this being our busy season, and social conditions being such that a large area of ground must be slaved over to enable us to get a bare living after feeding the large army of drones. No wonder the American farmer is behind his fellows in the march toward a higher civilization. There is positively no time for mental improvement, and little wonder he is both clannish and ignorant.

#### LOUISIANA.

R. S. Cameron, Colfax.—I have discussed the single tax with hundreds of farmers in this section, and nine-tenths of them favor it. They realize many of the important features of the argument quickly. They have struggled for a generation in the face of adversity and can understand much of the message without an interpreter. We have every reason to be hopeful—the light is spreading.

#### CANADA.

S. T., Toronto.—The Toronto ministerial association met in the Y. M. C. A. parlors on May 19, and had a very interesting discussion on the single tax question, which was brought up by a lengthy communication from the single tax association, presenting a host of arguments in favor of a tax on land values and demanding that ministers of the city preach this new gospel. One minister was in favor of sending it back, but Rev. W. A. Hunter said this was a question that will not down. It must be settled soon, and the question is, will the church aid in the settlement? He proposed that the association appoint a committee to consider the matter and report in the fall. He could not see that this movement smacked of socialism; beside, he thought the time had come for action. The majority, however, did not agree with him, for they adopted a resolution which virtually stopped all discussion.

ROOMS NEWLY FURNISHED (HOUSE of Manhat) on Single Tax Club; gentleman, permanent or transient. Rooms can be engaged by telegraph or letter. WM. McCABE, 73 Lexington Av.

If you have a  
**COLD or COUGH,**  
acute or leading to  
**CONSUMPTION,**

**SCOTT'S EMULSION**  
OF PURE COD LIVER OIL  
AND HYPOPHOSPHITES  
OF LIME AND SODA

IS SURE CURE FOR IT.

This preparation contains the stimulating properties of the *Hypophosphites* and fine *Norwegian Cod Liver Oil*. Used by physicians all the world over. It is as palatable as milk. Three times as effective as plain Cod Liver Oil. A perfect Emulsion, better than all others made. For all forms of *Wasting Diseases, Bronchitis, CONSUMPTION, Scrofula, and as a Flesh Producer*.

It is sold by all Druggists. Let no one by profuse explanation or impudent entreaty induce you to accept a substitute.

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By EMANUEL SWEDENBORG.

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SOLUBLE,  
Delicious.  
THE FOREMOST COCOA OF EUROPE.  
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MIGHEST AWARDS AT  
THE PRINCIPAL EXHIBITIONS.  
The Original—Take no other.  
VAN HOUTEN'S COCOA  
"Best & Greatest Sale in the World—Once Tried, Always Used."

## SINGLE TAX ORGANIZATIONS.

(Secretaries of clubs are requested to send any corrections in the list below, and all newly formed organizations are asked to report promptly, either to the Enrollment committee or The Standard.)

## ARKANSAS.

**LITTLE ROCK.**—Little Rock single tax club. Every alternate Thursday evening, 717 Main st. Pres., Sol F. Clark; sec., O. D. Hemming, 1910 Main st.

## CALIFORNIA.

**SAN FRANCISCO.**—California single tax society. Every Sunday evening, St. George's hall, 909½ Market st. Library and reading room open from 9 a.m. to 10 p.m., 841 Market st. Pres., H. L. Place; sec., G. A. Hubbell; fin. sec., John A. Maynard. Address of all officers, 841 Market st.

**SACRAMENTO.**—Single tax club of Sacramento. Every Friday evening, Dr. Reed's office, 6th and K sts. Pres., Dr. Thos. B. Reed; sec., C. W. Farnsworth, 1406 4th st.

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**LOS ANGELES.**—Los Angeles single tax club. Pres., I. J. Harrell; sec., Clarence A. Miller.

**SAN DIEGO.**—Single tax county committee room. Noveltie boot stand, 444 5th st.; room open every day and night. George B. Whaley, chairman.

**BLACK DIAMOND.**—Contra Costa county single tax committee. Jeff. A. Bailey, sec.

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**MERIDEN.**—Meriden single tax club. 3 p.m. every Sunday, Circle hall. Pres., Wm. Hawthorne; sec., Wm. Williss, P. O. box 1342.

## DAKOTA.

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**RAPID CITY.**—Black Hills single tax league. Last Saturday in each month, Library hall. Pres., Judge Levi McGee; sec., Francis H. Clark.

**MADISON.**—Lake county single tax club. Chairman, Prof. E. H. Evanson.

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